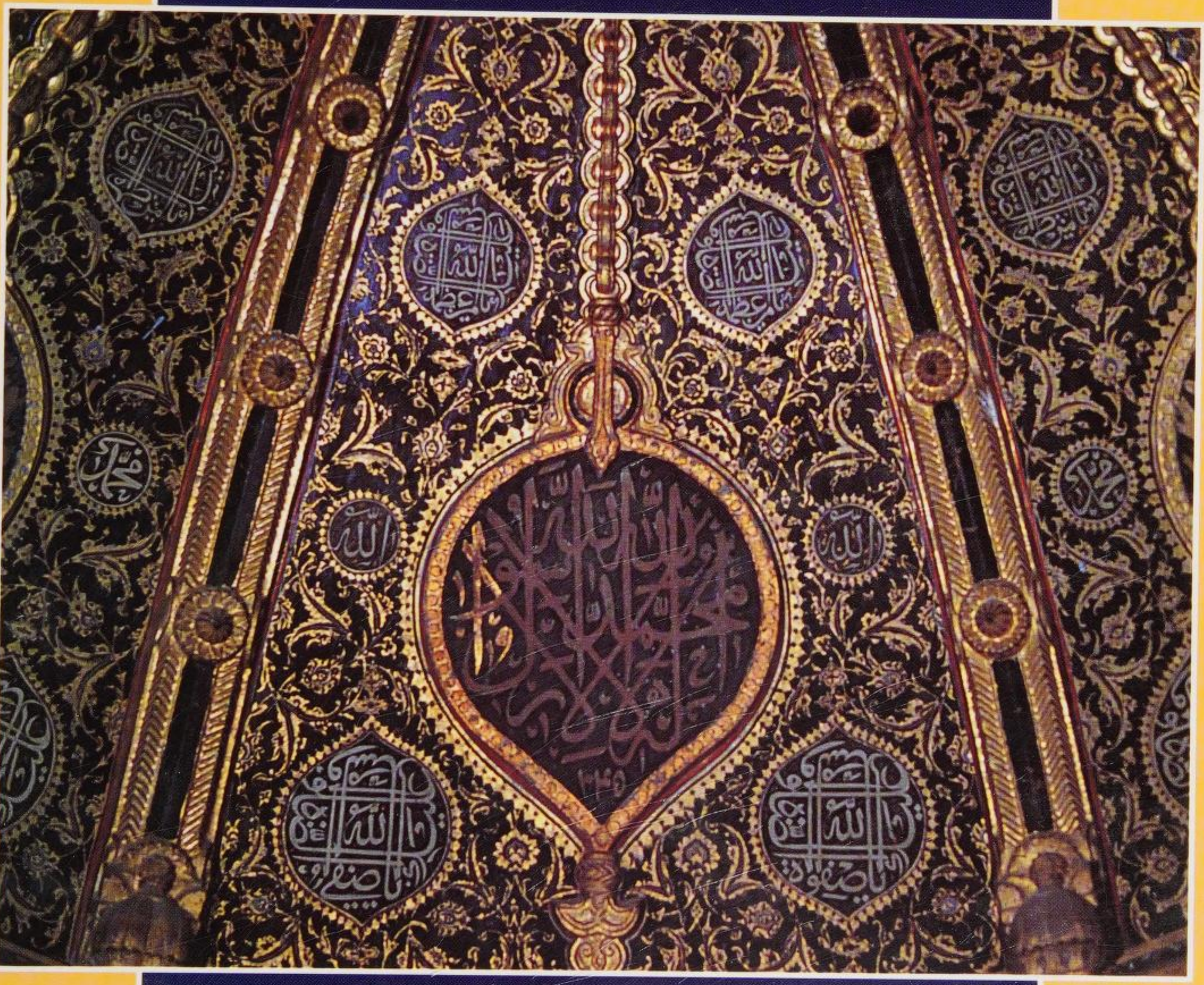
THE NEW CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA

ARCHITECTURE AND ART OF THE DECCAN SULTANATES



GEORGE MICHELL and
MARK ZEBROWSKI

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THE NEW CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA
VOLUME I.7

The Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan plateau in peninsular India flourished from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Ruling from their fortified capitals, the sultans built sumptuous palaces, mosques and tombs and patronised artists who produced outstanding paintings, textiles and objects. Many of these buildings and some works of art still survive as testimony to the remarkable talents of their builders and craftsmen. This volume is the first to offer an overall survey of these varied architectural and artistic traditions and to place them within their historical and cultural context. The ethnic and religious links which existed between the Deccan and Iran and Turkey, for example, are clearly discernible in Deccani architecture and painting, and a remarkable group of images, many of which have never been published before, testify to these influences. While these partial legacies survive, little has been written on the inheritance of the Deccan sultanates until now. The book will therefore be an invaluable source of inspiration to all those interested in the rich and diverse culture of India, as well as to those concerned with the wider artistic heritage of the Middle East.

MUNSHIRAM MANOHARLAL
PUBLISHERS PVT. LTD.

Architecture and Art of the Deccan Sultanates

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THE NEW CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA

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Sufi receiving a visitor, attributed to the Bodleian painter, Bijapur, *c.* 1610–20

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I : 7

Architecture and Art of the Deccan Sultanates

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and
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CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK http://www.cup.cam.ac.uk
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA http://www.cup.org
10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

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First published 1999

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeset in Garamond 10.5/13 pt [VN]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress cataloguing in publication data

Michell, George
The architecture and art of the Deccan sultanates / George Michell and Mark Zebrowski.
p. cm. – (The new Cambridge history of India; I, 8)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0 521 56321 6 (hb)
1. Art, Islamic – India – Deccan. 2. Art, Indic – India – Deccan.
I. Zebrowski, Mark. II. Title. III. Series.
DS436.N47 1987 pt 1, vol. 8
[N7307.D4]
954 s–dc21
[709'.54'8] 98–24737 CIP

ISBN 0 521 56321 6 hardback

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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

The New Cambridge History of India covers the period from the beginning of the sixteenth century. In some respects it marks a radical change in the style of Cambridge Histories, but in others the editors feel that they are working firmly within an established academic tradition.

During the summer of 1896, F. W. Maitland and Lord Acton between them evolved the idea for a comprehensive modern history. By the end of the year the Syndics of the University Press had committed themselves to the **Cambridge Modern History**, and Lord Acton had been put in charge of it. It was hoped that publication would begin in 1899 and be completed by 1904, but the first volume in fact came out in 1902 and the last in 1910, with additional volumes of tables and maps in 1911 and 1912.

The **History** was a great success, and it was followed by a whole series of distinctive Cambridge Histories covering English Literature, the Ancient World, India British Foreign Policy, Economic History, Medieval History, the British Empire, Africa, China and Latin America; and even now other new series are being prepared. Indeed, the various Histories have given the Press notable strength in the publication of general reference books in the arts and social sciences.

What has made the Cambridge Histories so distinctive is that they have never been simply dictionaries or encyclopedias. The Histories have, in H. A. L. Fisher's words, always been 'written by an army of specialists concentrating the latest results of special study'. Yet as Acton agreed with the Syndics in 1896, they have not been mere compilations of existing material but original works. Undoubtedly many of the Histories are uneven in quality, some have become out of date very rapidly, but their virtue has been that they have consistently done more than simply record an existing state of knowledge: they have tended to focus interest on research and they have provided a massive stimlulus to further work. This has made their publication doubly worthwhile and has distinguished them intellectually from other sorts of reference books. The editors of **The New Cambridge History of India** have acknowledged this in their work.

The original **Cambridge History of India** was published between 1922 and 1937. It was planned in six volumes, but of these, volume 2 dealing with the period between the first century AD and the Muslim invasion of India never appeared. Some of the material is still of value, but in many respects it is now out of date. The past fifty years have seen a great deal of new research on India, and a striking feature of recent work has been to cast doubt on the validity of the quite arbitrary

chronological and categorical way in which Indian history has been conventionally divided.

The editors decided that it would not be academically desirable to prepare a new **History of India** using the traditional format. The selective nature of research on Indian history over the past half-century would doom such a project from the start and the whole of Indian history could not be covered in an even or comprehensive manner. They concluded that the best scheme would be to have a **History** divided into four overlapping chronological volumes, each containing about eight short books on individual themes or subjects. Although in extent the work will therefore be equivalent to a dozen massive tomes of the traditional sort, in form **The New Cambridge History of India** will appear as a shelf full of separate but complementary parts. Accordingly, the main divisions are between I. *The Mughals and their contemporaries,* II. *Indian States and the Transition to Colonialism,* III. *The Indian Empire and the Beginnings of Modern Society,* and IV. *The Evolution of Contemporary South Asia.*

Just as the books within these volumes are complementary so too do they intersect with each other, both thematically and chronologically. As the books appear they are intended to give a view of the subject as it now stands and to act as a stimulus to further research. We do not expect **The New Cambridge History of India** to be the last word on the subject but an essential voice in the continuing discussion about it.

PREFACE

Though George Michell and Mark Zebrowski have pursued independent directions in their research with regard to the history of Indian art, the Deccan has emerged as a common focus of attention. George Michell began to take an interest in the Sultanate architecture of this area as an extension of his study of Vijayanagara initiated in the early 1980s. That research is embodied in another volume of the current series (1.6). It was only by examining monuments at the successive capitals of the Bahmani and Adil Shahi rulers that Michell was able to interpret military and courtly buildings at Vijayanagara. This enquiry revealed the lack of an exhaustive survey of Deccani architecture. Nor, it seemed, had there been any serious effort to integrate these traditions with those of the Mughals and the Marathas. It was this gap in the subject that suggested the need for an introductory yet scholarly survey that would encompass these different aspects of Deccani architecture.

Mark Zebrowski's interest in the Deccan, sustained for more than twenty-five years now, has focused mostly on the arts of the Sultanate courts that remained more or less independent of the artistic activities of the Mughal emperors of North India. Attracted by the outstanding quality of miniature paintings, textiles and metalwork produced at the Deccani courts, Zebrowski realised that the decorative arts of this region were being overlooked or mistakenly ascribed to Iranian, Mughal or Rajput workshops. Painting was his first interest and this led to a doctoral thesis on the subject, later published in revised form as *Deccani Painting* (1983). Since then, Zebrowski has extended his interest to silver, gold and bronze objects from both North India and the Deccan. His chapters in this volume aim at a broad survey of Deccani fine arts that will complement the architecture chapters.

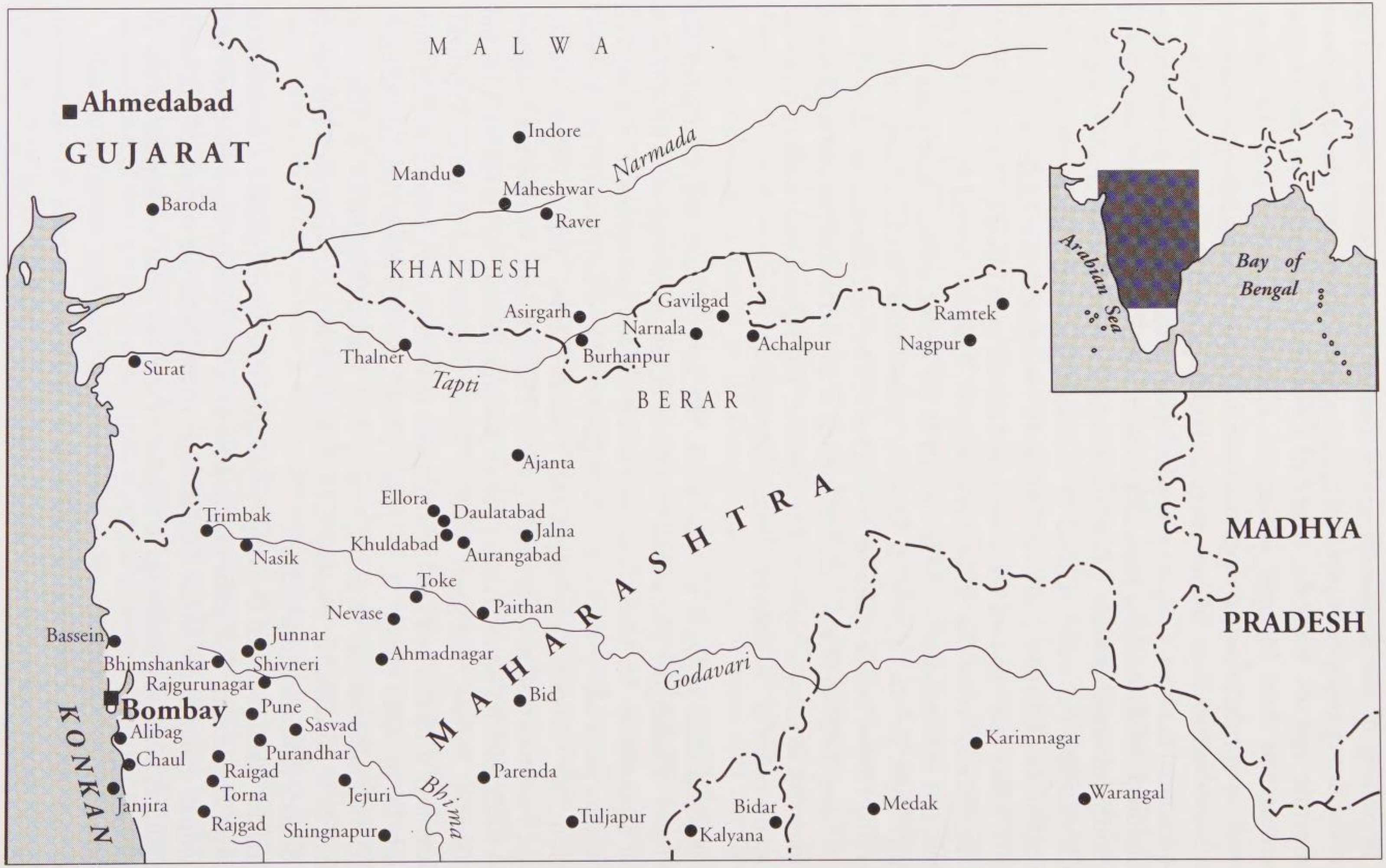
In spite of the limitations of this work, which of necessity complies with the condensed format of *The New Cambridge History of India* series, the authors make some claim to having written a comprehensive survey of Deccani architecture, painting and decorative arts over some five hundred years, a period when this region was dominated by Muslim rulers. This ambitious time span has suggested the suitability of a straightforward chronological approach devoted to different building types and works of art. The aim here is to present the broadest possible appreciation of the Deccan in terms of architectural activity and artistic patronage.

The Introduction with which the volume opens is intended as a preliminary appreciation of Deccani buildings and works of art, placing them within the context of both the Indian and Middle Eastern cultural traditions. Chapter 1 presents an overview of the major political events that occured in the Deccan from

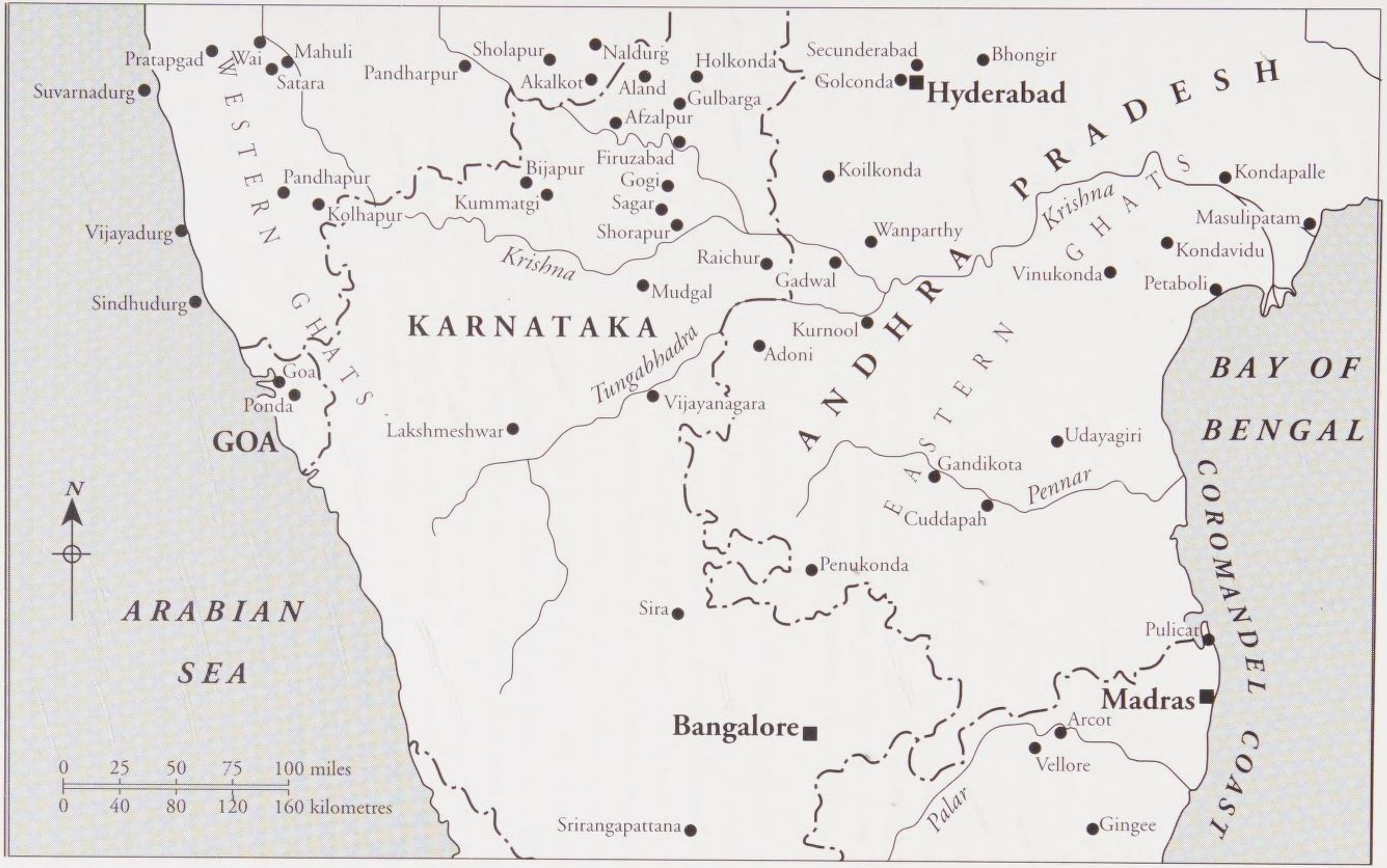
the beginning of the fourteenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries. This historical survey notes those personalities who played prominent roles as patrons of architecture and art from the rulers of the various Sultanates to the Mughal governors and their Maratha adversaries. Chapters 2 and 3, both by George Michell, survey the principal monuments of the region, distinguishing military and palace architecture from Islamic religious buildings, such as mosques, tombs and the occasional madrasa. Chapter 4, to which both authors have contributed, focuses on architectural decoration, especially incised stuccowork, carved stonework and brilliantly coloured tilework. Mark Zebrowski is responsible for chapters 5 and 6, which examine the major schools of miniature painting that flourished at the Deccani courts. Chapter 7, also by Zebrowski, examines Deccani resist-dyed cotton textiles, inlaid and engraved metalwork, and carved stone objects. These objects are among the very finest that India has produced. Temples erected by the Maratha leaders and commanders in the latter part of the period covered here constitute a distinct topic in the history of Deccani architecture. Michell deals with this emerging Hindu artistic tradition in chapter 8. The final chapter, which is a joint effort, takes the form of a conclusion, aiming at an overall analysis and synthesis of the materials in terms of stylistic development. The volume ends with an appendix listing the rulers of the different Deccani dynasties.

Throughout their research on this work, the authors have benefited from the generosity of colleagues and friends who have helped unstintingly with information about monuments, art works, historical references and photographic sources. The authors are particularly indebted to John Robert Alderman, Jayant Bapat, Richard Blurton, Ilay Cooper, Rosemary Crill, Yolande Crowe, Simon Digby, Marcus Fraser, Francesca Galloway, Stewart Gordon, Tanvir Hasan, Sir Howard Hodgkin, Ebba Koch, Helen Philon, Venetia Porter, Krishna Riboud, Klaus Rötzer, Lois and Shehbaz H. Safrani, Ashutosh Sohoni, Susan Stronge and Andrew Topsfield. Archaeology directors and local scholars who assisted in the planning of field trips include D. N. Akki (Gogi), S. K. Aruni (Pune), Shaikh Ansar Ahmed (Ahmadnagar), Balasubramaniam (Kamalapuram), R. R. Borkar (Nagpur), P. K. Ghanekar (Pune), A. P. Jamkhedkar (Bombay), M. S. Mate (Pune), S. Nagaraju (Hyderabad) and Shaikh Ramzan (Aurangabad).

Graham Reed prepared the map, while the architectural plans are the work of Jaideep Chakrabarti. The photographs have been supplied by the institutions and individuals given in the list of illustrations. Throughout the writing of this book Marigold Acland at Cambridge University Press has been a constant source of encouragement.



Map of the Northern Deccan



Map of the Southern Deccan

INTRODUCTION

The plateau region in the centre of peninsular India, known as the Deccan, is one of the country's most mysterious and unknown regions in terms of artistic heritage. Few scholars, Indian or foreign, have worked extensively in the Deccan, which remains little visited and surprisingly unexplored. In consequence, many sites of outstanding historical and architectural significance, whether urban mosques and tombs or remote mountain citadels, lack adequate documentation and publication. A further problem is that in the past relatively few works of art were given a Deccani attribution. An increasing number of miniature paintings, textiles and inlaid metal objects are now assigned to this region. This means that the time has come for a reassessment of the Deccan as a dynamic centre of patronage for architecture and the fine arts.

Before considering individual monuments and works of art, it is important to stress the remarkably high quality of Deccani architecture and art. Courtly and religious buildings, miniature paintings, textiles and metal objects from this region are among the finest the subcontinent. And much of Deccani art is rare, far rarer than Mughal art. It is likely that the painting workshops in the Deccan were always smaller than those of North India. Rarity increases the risk of oblivion and makes research and publishing all the more urgent. Furthermore, the emotional content of Deccani art is unique. Whereas Mughal art has a generous dose of logic and verisimilitude behind its glamour, especially in its classic phase under the patronage of Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb in the seventeenth century, Deccani art revels in dream and fantasy. Paintings pulsate with restless lines and riotous colours, rejecting the Olympian calm of the Mughal style. We may well ask if Deccani painting ever attained to a classic phase, with all the restraint and power which such a phase implies. Perhaps it did, but only for the briefest moment at the courts of Bijapur (Frontispiece, Figs. 2 and 123 and Colour Plate 6) and Ahmadnagar (Colour Plates 2 and 3). At most other times opulent excess reigned unchallenged and produced some of the most lyrical images in Indian art.

Not unlike painting, Deccani architecture too is the stuff of dreams. When walking through a Mughal palace or garden-tomb, we are soothed by its monumental dignity and sobriety. It is of the real world, but the real world infused with extra logic. In contrast, the palaces and tombs at Bidar, Bijapur and Golconda invigorate us with exotic visions of the Middle East, a fantastic Arabian Nights atmosphere. Nor should this impression be dismissed as fanciful, for we must not forget that the Deccan was always a *distant* Islamic culture, far from its Middle

Eastern sources. In its brilliant architecture we sense a romantic yearning for the domes and minarets of the Muslim heartland.

Such a nostalgia for the Middle East, in fact, seems to have informed many aspects of Deccani culture. The sultans identified with Iranian and Turkish rulers, adopting their ceremonial practices and patterns of patronage. The ethnic composition of the Deccan was the result of sustained contacts with the Middle East, with large and influential communities of Turks, Persians, Arabs and Africans. From the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries, sufis, men of letters, merchants and soldiers migrated to the Deccan from all over the Middle East, lured by the generosity and wealth of the sultans.

The profound impact of Middle Eastern culture is also hardly surprising considering the origins and religious affiliations of Deccani rulers. The Qutb Shahis of Golconda were descended from Qara Qoyunlu Turkman princes who were driven out of Iran in the fifteenth century; the Adil Shahis of Bijapur claimed blood links with the Ottoman dynasty established in Istanbul; the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar, although descended from Hindus converted to Islam, embraced Shiism in the early fifteenth century. After the conquest of Iran by the Shia Safavid dynasty in 1501, Persian influence became paramount. Deccani kings perceived the Safavid state as the source of their own legitimacy and the Sunni Mughal empire as their enemy. Cultural ties were also maintained with the Shia holy cities of Iraq. Shia Islam was the official religion.

The Deccan preserved its political independence from North India until the present century, except for a brief period of about four decades following the conquest by Aurangzeb in the second half of the seventeenth century. As a result, a distinct Islamic culture developed there which displayed more direct contact with the Middle East than with North India. The Deccan became within India the greatest centre of Arabic learning and literary composition. Persian poets, historians and scribes flocked there, among them Urfi, Zuhuri and Firishta. Deccani architecture and metalwork were adorned with the finest Persian and Arabic calligraphy in India. Urdu literature was born at the Bijapur and Golconda courts in the late sixteenth century, almost two centuries before its full development in North India.

However, the full extent of Deccani Muslim culture remains somewhat enigmatic, partly because the sultans lacked the customary Islamic passion for historical record. Sultans commissioned fewer histories than their Mughal contemporaries, so less is known about this region than about North India. Also, Deccani buildings and paintings are rarely dated or inscribed – as Mughal and Rajasthani works often are – so we know little about Deccani architects and artists, or their relationship with their patrons.

Much of what we can learn about Deccani art must come directly from looking at it. As Mark Zebrowski has already written (1983:10):

Few Deccani paintings record historical events or realistically portray their subjects as Mughal art does. Nor was there much interest in the thrills of the hunt, court ceremonial or Hindu ritual, favourite Rajasthani themes. Instead, princely portraits predominate which aim to establish a gently lyrical atmosphere, often one of quiet abandon to the joys of love, music, poetry or just the perfume of a flower. Although figures are conventional types, moods . . . are established through fantastic colours . . . We are admitted into a private world of feeling . . . rarely do we see an army on the march. Reflection and reverie triumph over dramatic action.

The elegance of Iran, the sensuality of South India and even the occasional influence from Europe all contributed to the power of Deccani architecture and art. Like other hybrids, this tradition flowered vigorously, but briefly, succumbing suddenly to the onslaughts of European culture in the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

Though most of the monuments and works of art surveyed in this volume are categorised as Sultanate, Mughal or Maratha, these essentially stylistic designations should not be understood as implying chronologically discrete periods. The chief sultans of the Deccan maintained their independence for more than a century after the Mughals first invaded the region at the end of the sixteenth century. This means that Sultanate and Mughal epochs overlapped rather than one succeeding the other. From the last quarter of the seventeenth century onwards the Mughals and Marathas were forced into an uneasy coexistence. This led ultimately to the distintegration of the great North Indian empire. Such concurrent dynastic developments, though resulting more often in war than in peace, form the background to the highly spirited artistic tradition that is the subject of this volume.

The turbulent events of these centuries are explained to some extent by the unique location of the Deccan plateau as a meeting place of forces from both North and South India, the promise of boundless land and wealth inspiring repeated invasion. In the first decades of the fourteenth century, the Deccan was subjugated by the Khaljis and Tughluqs, the first Muslim rulers of Delhi; some two and a half centuries later the Mughals arrived, though it took them more than one hundred years to consolidate their conquests. Resistance to these assaults from Delhi occurred in three waves: the military thrust of the mighty Hindu Vijayanagara kingdom south of the Tungabhadra–Krishna rivers in the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth centuries; the opposition of the Shia Muslim sultans throughout most of the seventeenth century; and the guerilla tactics of the Hindu Maratha warriors in the second half of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries.

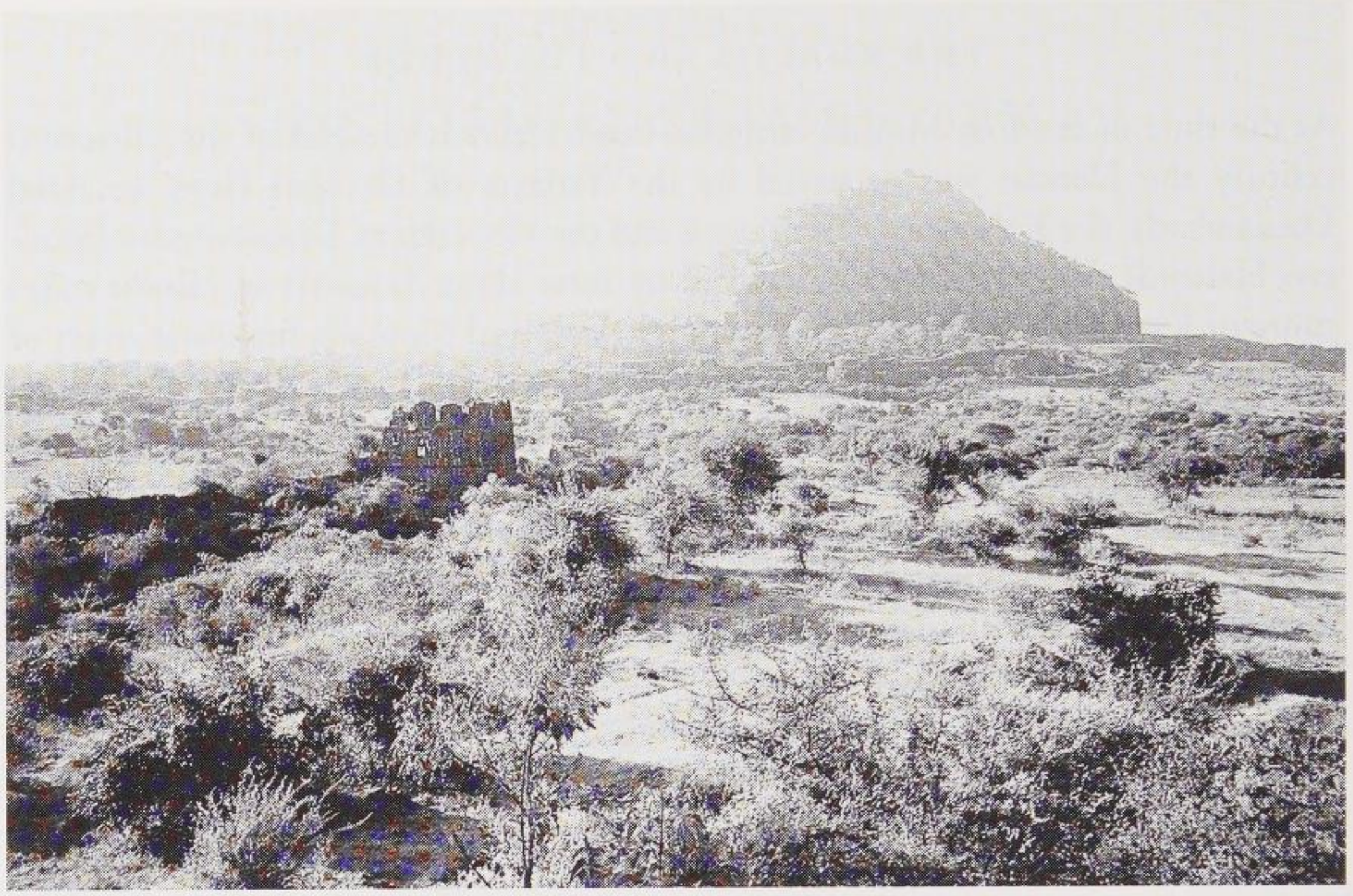
Since the Deccan encompasses the heart of the peninsula, from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, it was also able to act as a receptacle for influences arriving from abroad. Direct emigration of literary and religious figures from the Iranian, Turkic and Arab lands, as well as of soldiers and slaves from East Africa, the so-called Habshis, resulted in an influential population of newcomers, mostly Muslims. The struggle for domination between these immigrants of varied origins, known as Afaqis, and the descendants of the original invaders from North India and their local Hindu converts, the Dakhnis, is a crucial feature of courtly life in the Deccan, especially during the Sultanate period. Beginning in the early sixteenth century, these newcomers also included the Portuguese who were established on the Arabian Sea coast. Before long, they too became enmeshed in local affairs. They were followed in later centuries by the Dutch, French and English.

THE KHALJIS AND TUGHLUQS

At the time of the first Muslim invasion from Delhi at the end of the thirteenth century the Deccan was occupied by the Yadavas of Devagiri (later renamed Daulatabad), the Kakatiyas of Warangal and the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra (modern Halebid). The territories controlled by these three dynasties of Hindu rulers more or less coincided with the Marathi, Telugu and Kannada linguistic zones of the region. The expedition of Alauddin, nephew and son-in-law of Jalaluddin Firuz Shah, the Khalji ruler of Delhi, disrupted these kingdoms. After fording the Narmada and Tapti rivers, Alauddin reached the outer walls of Devagiri in April 1296. Unprepared for Alauddin's onslaught, Ramachandra, the Yadava raja, was compelled to pay a huge ransom of gold, jewels, textiles, elephants and horses. Alauddin's soldiers plundered the Devagiri palace, but left one month later after Ramachandra had agreed to pay an annual tribute. Returning directly to Delhi, Alauddin was proclaimed sultan in October that same year, his claim to the Khalji throne bolstered by the Yadava treasure that he had carried off as booty from the Deccan.

Not content with having conquered Devagiri, Alauddin headed another expedition in 1302–3, this time directed against Warangal. Unlike the assault on the Yadavas, the attempt to plunder the Kakatiyas failed. The next intrusion into the Deccan occured in 1309–10, the Khalji army on this occasion being led by Malik Kafur. Having secured the loyalty of Ramachandra, Alauddin turned his attention once more to the war with Warangal, ordering Malik Kafur to subjugate its ruler, Prataparudra. The operation met with success and in 1310 Prataparudra sued for peace, promising to remit an annual tribute to Delhi. Encouraged by these lucrative assaults and discovering the riches of the Hoysala and Pandya kingdoms further south, Alauddin conceived yet another campaign. Leaving Delhi in October 1310 and passing by Devagiri to recruit reinforcements, Malik Kafur arrived at Dorasamudra in record time. After the Hoysala king Ballalla had surrendered, Malik Kafur persuaded him to march with the Delhi troops against Madura, headquarters of the Pandyas in the Tamil lands in the extreme south of the peninsula. This mission met with little resistence and Malik Kafur was once again able to acquire an immense treasure.

At the conclusion of these raids, an uneasy peace returned to the Deccan, the Yadavas, Kakatiyas and Hoysalas having been reduced to vassals by Delhi. Yet the supremacy of the Khaljis in peninsular India was challenged by Singhana, who succeeded Ramachandra as ruler of Devagiri in 1312. Malik Kafur was despatched once again to the Deccan and in the ensuing battle Singhana lost his life. This time the Yadava citadel and the surrounding country were permanently occupied by the Delhi troops. The Khalji annexation was completed when Alauddin issued coins in his own name from the Devagiri mint. Malik Kafur was recalled to Delhi in 1315, shortly before Alauddin's death. In the dynastic turmoil that followed, Malik Kafur



1 Fort with artificially scarped hill, Daulatabad, thirteenth to seventeenth centuries

was murdered and Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah came to power. Concerned that Devagiri was slipping out of control, Qutbuddin organised a march to the Deccan in 1317, taking with him his favourite commander, Khusro Khan. Devagiri was once again occupied, and Qutbuddin returned to Delhi, but only after ordering a mosque to be erected to commemorate the Khalji victory (see chapter 3).

Khusro Khan remained in the Deccan to plan further forays southward. But his influence came to an end in 1321 when the Khaljis were overthrown by the Tughluqs. One of the first tasks of the new dynasty was to incorporate the Deccan into the Delhi Sultanate. In 1323 Ghiyathuddin Shah, first of the Tughluq sultans, ordered his son Ulugh Khan to occupy the region and to press southward into the Tamil area. Maintaining control over these farflung territories proved difficult, however, and several local rulers took the opportunity of rebelling. On the death of his father in 1325, Ulugh Khan assumed the throne under the name of Muhammad Shah. In an attempt to consolidate the Tughluq hold on the Deccan and the Tamil lands further south, Muhammad Shah conceived the notion of shifting the Delhi court to Devagiri. In 1327 this citadel became the second capital of the Tughluq Sultanate under the name Daulatabad, City of Prosperity (Fig. 1). Ramparts and gates added to the fort at this time are still extant (see chapter 2).

Muhammad's drastic move proved only a temporary measure, for within a few years many of the North Indian migrants returned to Delhi. Nor did the relocation of the imperial seat succeed in achieving political stability; many parts of the

conquered Deccan broke away, such as Warangal in 1329 and, further south, Madura in 1334. The year 1336 marks the traditional foundation date of Vijayanagara, the kingdom established by the Sangamas at their new capital on the Tungabhadra, some 500 kilometres south of Daulatabad. All lands beyond this river were from this time on permanently lost to the Tughluqs.

Unrest in the Deccan reached a climax in 1345 with a rebellion led by Ismail Mukh, an Afghan officer who routed the army sent by the Delhi sultan. Daulatabad's treasury was seized and the governorships of the different provinces were redistributed among the nobles. Hasan, ablest of Muhammad Shah's followers and honoured by him with the title of Zafar Khan, was appointed military commander. But under his leadership the tendency towards independence continued and the Deccan nobles finally broke with Delhi. To advertise his success, Zafar Khan ordered the erection of a victory tower known as the Chand Minar at Daulatabad (see Fig. 34). In August 1347 Zafar Khan ascended the throne as Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah.

THE BAHMANIS

Alauddin (1347–58) gave his family name to a new line of rulers, henceforth known as the Bahmanis after the legendary hero Bahman of the Persian epic, the *Shah Namah*. His first task was to obtain the submission of local chiefs and to bring all the Deccan territories of the former Tughluqs under his control. He then occupied the Konkan, a narrow strip of land flanking the Arabian Sea coast. The former Kakatiya citadel of Warangal, however, remained beyond his grasp, though not that of his successors. Towards the end of his rule, Alauddin selected Gulbarga, 320 kilometres south-west of Daulatabad, as the new Bahmani capital.

The reign of Alauddin's son and successor, Muhammad I (1358–75), is marked by a division of the Bahmani territories into the provinces of Daulatabad, Bidar, Gavilgad and Golconda. To mark the special status of Gulbarga, Muhammad ordered the construction of a Jami mosque within the fort (see Fig. 36). Muhammad's reign coincided with the introduction of gunpowder into the Deccan, where it was used as early as 1365. The consequence of this type of warfare is seen in fortifications with slit holes for guns and rounded bastions with crenellations (see Fig. 4). Like later Bahmani sultans, Muhammad was preoccupied with wars against the Sangamas of Vijayanagara. The main source of conflict was control of the richly watered tract of territory between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. Strategic sites in this area, such as Raichur and Mudgal, were won and lost on more than one occasion.

A period of instability followed upon Muhammad's death, during the reigns of two short-lived rulers, Mujahid and Dawud. The comparatively peaceful reign of Muhammad II (1378–97), the next sultan, was marked by only minor skirmishes with Vijayanagara. The period of Tajuddin Firuz (1397–1422), one of the most

powerful of the Bahmani rulers and certainly the outstanding personality of the era, saw the influx of numerous Persians, Arabs and Turks. This resulted in a struggle for power between the newcomers and the older-established elite that marked the beginning of the Afaqi-Dakhni friction. Firuz was a learned sultan and his era has been viewed in terms of cultural synthesis. He was also a pious man who invited prominent Sufi teachers, such as the Chishti saint Hazrat Muhammad Gesudaraz, to settle in his capital. Though Firuz attempted to achieve peace with Vijayanagara by marrying the daughter of Devaraya I, struggles over the disputed territories were never resolved. It was while returning from a successful expedition beyond the Tungabhadra in 1400 that he founded a palace city named after himself as Firuzabad (see Fig. 8). One problem for Firuz in his later years was the rift that grew between himself and his brother Ahmad. This was aggravated by Gesudaraz's prediction that Ahmad would inherit the Bahmani throne.

This, in fact, came to pass after Firuz died, followed soon after by Gesudaraz. Firuz was buried in a magnificent mausoleum on the outskirts of Gulbarga, within sight of the saint's tomb (see Figs. 39 and 40). At some date between 1424 and 1427, Ahmad I (1422–36) decided to shift the Bahmani capital to Bidar, about 100 kilometres to the north-east. This move signalled a perceptible change in the character of the Sultanate, which thereafter manifested increasing contacts with the Mongol and Timurid world of Iran and Central Asia. As a result, the Afaqis became the dominant faction at the Bahmani court. The influence of these foreigners is discernible in the architecture of the era which displays obvious Iranian tendencies (see chapters 2 and 3). Another manifestation of the increased contacts with the Middle East are the links that Ahmad established with saintly figures such as Shah Khalilullah, son of the revered Shah Nimatullah of Kirman, and a formidable shaykh in his own right, who arrived in Bidar in 1431. Throughout his reign, Ahmad was preoccupied both with wars against Vijayanagara and with struggles against rival sultans in Malwa and Gujarat, the regions to the north and north-west of the Deccan respectively. The outcome of these confrontations, however, was rarely decisive and the Bahmani kingdom survived more or less intact.

Ongoing strife between the Afaqis and Dakhnis and fruitless campaigns against Vijayanagara, Malwa and Gujarat disrupted the reign of Alauddin Ahmad II (1436–58). The supposed tyrannical behaviour of the next sultan, Humayun (1458–61), is sometimes explained by the attempts of the Afaqis to depose him. It was under Humayun that Mahmud Gawan began to be involved with affairs of state. His political career progressed during the reign of Muhammad III (1463–82). As prime minister under this youthful ruler, Mahmud Gawan assumed full responsibility for state affairs. Though his policy of balancing Afaqis against Dakhnis won him the support of the indigenous population, Mahmud Gawan's own sympathies were with the Afaqis and the Shia sect to which many belonged. In a bid to affirm the supremacy of Shiism at the Bahmani court, Mahmud Gawan ordered the construction of a grandiose madrasa. Though surviving only in a damaged state,

this theological college testifies to the pervasive influence of Iranian architectural and religious traditions in the Deccan (see Figs. 43 and 44). Its brilliantly coloured tiles are the finest of the era in India (see Fig. 100).

Difficulties with Malwa, the region immediately north of the Deccan, led to a major battle in 1467–8, but under Mahmud Gawan's able command the Bahmani forces emerged unscathed. A triumph of his diplomacy was the coalition with Vijayanagara against the Orissan army which had threatened the Bahmani kingdom on its north-eastern frontier. Another objective was Goa, the leading port of the Konkan, which was taken in 1472. With the Bahmani territories stretching from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal and from the Tapti on the north to the Tungabhadra on the south, Mahmud Gawan was able to carry out administrative reforms, including a revision of land measurement and revenue assessment. These successes must have aroused considerable envy, for in 1481 he became the victim of a conspiracy and was beheaded by order of the sultan. On learning of the plot Muhammad suffered remorse and he himself died exactly one year later.

The long reign of his son Mahmud (1482–1518) coincides with the disintegration of the Bahmani kingdom, a process which was hastened by courtly intrigues. The most important military commanders established themselves with greater authority in their provincial headquarters: thus, Nizam al-Mulk at Ahmadnagar, Imad al-Mulk at Achalpur, Yusuf Adil Khan at Bijapur and Sultan Quli Qutb al-Mulk at Golconda. Qasim Barid, an officer based in Bidar, challenged the sultan's authority, forcing Mahmud to appoint him as prime minister in 1488. This provided an excuse for the provincial governors to declare their autonomy. Meanwhile, the threat from Vijayanagara continued, especially under Narasimha Saluva who had wrested the throne from the Sangamas. Narasimha and Yusuf Adil Khan, leader of the Bahmani forces, met on several occasions in the ensuing war. With the arrival of the Portuguese the Bahmanis suffered losses on the Arabian Sea coast, including Goa. Only minor figures with little actual power occupied the Bahmani throne between 1518 and 1538. They are, however, buried in the company of their more powerful predecessors in the necropolis at Ashtur on the outskirts of Bidar (see Fig. 45).

THE NIZAM SHAHIS, IMAD SHAHIS AND FARUQIS

The opening decades of the sixteenth century witnessed the fragmentation of the Bahmani kingdom into smaller Sultanates, each governed by an independent dynasty. The three most powerful dynasties of Deccan kings were the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar, the Adil Shahis of Bijapur and the Qutb Shahis of Golconda. Their territories more or less coincided with the Marathi, Kannada and Telugu countries. Lesser rulers were the Imad Shahis based at first at Gavilgad, capital of Berar on the north-eastern fringe of the Deccan, and the Baridis who governed from Bidar in continuation after the Bahmanis. Another state is Khandesh, located

between the Tapti and Narmada on the northern periphery of the Deccan. Founded in 1382 by Malika Raja, a former Tughluq officer, the Faruqis enjoyed a history that was longer than that of the Bahmanis, maintaining their lineage throughout the sixteenth century.

A review of the simultaneous careers of these Sultanates reveals an unceasing history of shifting alliances and wars, effectively preventing any single kingdom from attaining supremacy. Afaqi-Dakhni strife inherited from Bahmani times continued; so too did conflicts with Vijayanagara. Short-lived coalitions with the Tuluvas, the new line of rajas at Vijayanagara, contributed further to the instability of the period. Only when all of the Deccan sultans perceived the empire on their southern flank as a common enemy was a consortium formed that led to the battle of January 1565 in which the Vijayanagara forces were finally vanquished.

The first Sultanate to attain autonomy was that of the Nizam Shahis. These kings traced their origins to Malik Hasan Bahri, a converted Hindu in the service of the Bahmanis, who gained recognition by waging wars on behalf of Mahmud Gawan. However, Malik Hasan fell victim to the hostilities that beset Bidar following the death of Mahmud Gawan; he was himself murdered in 1486. Thereupon his son, Ahmad Nizam al-Mulk, broke into open revolt. Establishing his headquarters at Junnar in the western Deccan, Ahmad successfully resisted the forces sent to subdue him by Qasim Barid of Bidar and Yusuf Adil Khan of Bijapur. He then declared independence, striking coins in the name of Ahmad Bahri Nizam Shah (1496–1510).

As a result of the relations that he forged with local Maratha chiefs, Ahmad Bahri augmented his holdings by acquiring the strongholds of Daulatabad and Panhala. He also attempted an assault on Khandesh in the hope of expanding his dominions to the north. On his death, Ahmad was buried in a magnificent tomb on the outskirts of Ahmadnagar (see Fig. 50), the capital that he founded towards the end of his reign and which was named after him. Though only a child when he ascended the throne, Burhan I (1510–53) was supported by his capable commanders who protected the kingdom from the attacks of the Imad Shahis and Adil Shahis. They were, however, unable to avoid clashes with the armies of Khandesh and Gujarat. Shiism was adopted as the state religion, thereby bringing the Nizam Shahi kingdom into sympathetic relations with Iran. In the wars against Bijapur throughout the period, Burhan often allied himself with Golconda and Vijayanagara.

Burhan's son and successor, Husain I (1553–65), secured the Nizam Shahi frontiers and achieved an accord with the Portuguese. The resulting peace gave the sultan an opportunity to construct the great circular fort of his capital (chapter 2). In 1564 Husain's army joined that of Bijapur, Bidar and Golconda to counter the threat from Vijayanagara. Their victory over Ramaraya, commander of the vast Tuluva army, was decisive, but Husain himself died shortly after. The Nizam Shahi throne was inherited by his eldest son, Murtaza I (1565–88). The alliance with Bijapur and Golconda was soon broken and Murtaza was involved in new power struggles. The declining fortunes of Bidar and Berar inspired Murtaza to join forces

with Ali I of Bijapur. The policy proved successful and in 1574 Berar became a province of the Nizam Shahi kingdom. That this was the high point in the fortunes of Ahmadnagar is suggested by the grandiose Farah Bagh complex built just outside the capital (see Figs. 17 and 18), considerably more imposing than the palaces built on similar plans in Iran at the same time. The obviously Middle Eastern features of the Farah Bagh contrast with the more Deccani style of the Damri mosque, the most exquisite monument of the era (see Fig. 51). Painting and the fine arts also flourished at the Nizam Shahi court during Murtaza's reign judging from the two imposing portraits of this ruler (see Colour Plate 2 and Fig. 110). These extraordinary miniatures, executed in a refined and original style, are among the earliest known paintings produced in the Deccan.

The circumstances in which the much smaller kingdom of Berar was founded in the extreme north-east corner of the former Bahmani state parallels those of Ahmadnagar. Fathullah Imad Shah, after whom the dynasty was named, rose to power as a military officer under the Bahmanis. After assisting Mahmud Gawan in his campaigns of 1472–3, he was appointed governor of Berar from where he attempted to maintain cordial relations with the commanders of Bijapur and Bidar. The citadels at Gavilgad and Narnala were consolidated under his orders (see chapter 2). Fathullah was succeeded by his son, Alauddin (1510–30), who resisted the agression of the Nizam Shahis by enlisting the aid of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. The next Imad Shahi ruler, Darya (1530–61), attempted an alliance with Bijapur in order to avert the threat from Ahmadnagar, but this strategy proved futile. It was not until the reign of the next sultan, Burhan (1562–74), that Berar was finally annexed by the Nizam Shahis.

To return to the affairs of Ahmadnagar: the later years of Murtaza's rule were marked by plots and assassinations, with renewed assaults from Bijapur. Having occupied Berar, Murtaza continued to press northwards and made several raids on Khandesh. Here he was checked by the Mughal army which from 1586 presented an entirely new threat to the Deccan. Relations with his own family deteriorated rapidly and in 1588 Murtaza was imprisoned by his own son.

A period of uncertainty ensued. The next Nizam Shahi ruler of any importance, Burhan II (1591–5), was partly supported by the Mughal emperor Akbar who attempted to interfere in local affairs. After the death of Burhan, there was a series of short-lived sultans whose powers were curtailed by courtly strife. With the invasion of the Adil Shahis in 1595 and the subsequent demise of Ibrahim, who occupied the throne for a few months only, state affairs were taken over by Ibrahim's sister, Chand Bibi. Though she proved an able ruler, Chand Bibi was unable to prevent the loss of Berar to the Mughals in 1596. Ongoing quarrels at the Nizam Shahi court offered further opportunities for Mughal intervention. Ahmadnagar was taken in 1600 by Akbar's commander Abul Fazl, who had Chand Bibi murdered.

The following years witnessed the rise of Malik Ambar, a Habshi (African) slave who emerged as the most powerful figure in the Nizam Shahi state at the turn of the

seventeenth century. It was only with his support that the Mughals were expelled from Ahmadnagar and that Murtaza II came to be crowned there in 1600. Malik Ambar overcame his internal enemies, led expeditions against Bidar and Golconda and even managed to withstand the attacks of the Khan-i Khanan, commander of the Mughal forces under Jahangir.

After installing Burhan III (1610–31) on the throne, Malik Ambar resumed his offensive against Bijapur and Golconda, but had only limited success with the Mughals. Besides his outstanding military leadership, Malik Ambar was also an active builder. His tomb at Khuldabad, 8 kilometres north of Daulatabad, is the finest of the Nizam Shahi period (see Fig. 53). In subsequent years the Mughals intensified their assaults on the Nizam Shahis, often with the aid of reinforcements from Bijapur. A temporary respite for Ahmadnagar came in 1633 when Shahji, a Maratha noble, helped the Nizam Shahi forces to recover the forts at Pune and Junnar. However, this only served to provoke the Mughals, who stormed Daulatabad that same year. This citadel now became the chief garrison of the invaders under their new leader, Prince Aurangzeb. The conquest of Ahmadnagar's territories proceeded and in 1636 Murtaza III, the last Nizam Shahi ruler, was taken prisoner. Shortly after, this Sultanate was absorbed into the Mughal empire.

The Faruqis of Khandesh have already been noted. These kings established themselves first at Thalner on the Tapti, shifting later to Burhanpur 150 kilometres upstream. The turbulent history of the Faruqi kingdom is partly explained by its location: to the south were the Bahmanis and their successors, the Nizam Shahis; to the north was the kingdom of Malwa, annexed by Gujarat after 1531. Though both the Nizam Shahis and the Gujarat sultans repeatedly intruded into Faruqi-held lands, Khandesh preserved its autonomy for more than 200 years before succumbing to the Mughals in 1600. Among the many Faruqi rulers of distinction was Adil Khan II (1457–1501). His long reign witnessed the transformation of Burhanpur into one of the wealthiest centres of trade and textile production in the Deccan. It was the widow of a later ruler of the same name, Adil Khan III (1508–20), who built its imposing Bibi-ka mosque (see chapter 3).

THE ADIL SHAHIS AND BARIDIS, ASCENDANCY OF THE MARATHAS

The early history of the Adil Shahis derives from the career of Yusuf Adil Khan, governor of Bijapur under Mahmud Gawan. Following the example of Ahmad Nizam al-Mulk, Yusuf asserted his autonomy in the last years of the fifteenth century and was able to consolidate his holdings in spite of opposition from Qasim Barid. One of Yusuf's first tasks was to fortify Bijapur and to provide it with a sophisticated hydraulic system (see chapter 2). By the time of his death in 1510, Yusuf's territories extended from the Bhima on the north to the Tungabhadra on the south. In 1503 Yusuf proclaimed Shiism as the state creed at Bijapur,

inspired by Shah Ismail, the Safavid ruler of Iran who had acted similarly in the previous year. Shortly afterwards, the Portuguese arrived at Goa. Yusuf attempted to expel the Europeans by attacking Goa and fostering an alliance with the Egyptian and Gujarat fleets. But the port was irrecoverably lost to the Adil Shahis and from 1510 onwards the Portuguese were permanently established on the Arabian Sea coast.

The next ruler, Ismail Khan (1510–34), succeeded as a minor to the Bijapur throne. Kamal Khan, the regent, was forced to make peace with the Portuguese. He then turned his attention to the internal affairs of the state, restoring the Sunni rites of worship in the mosques and supressing the Afaqi contingent at the Adil Shahi court. Kamal Khan's ambitions for power turned against him and in 1512 he was stabbed to death. In the civil strife that followed the Afaqis rose to power. The disorder at Bijapur created an excuse for Amir I (1504–43), the first Baridi ruler, to invade parts of the Adil Shahi territories. Amir I was supported by Krishnadevaraya, the new and powerful Tuluva emperor, with the result that Vijayanagara recovered a portion of the lands previously lost to the Bahmanis. The arrival of the Gujarat army put an end to this process and with the aid of these supplementary forces Bijapur was able to recover most of its possessions.

In contrast to his regent, Ismail did everything possible to sponsor connections with Iran. He was rewarded in 1519 when Shah Ismail addressed him in an embassy as 'Shah'. Thereafter, the Bijapur sultans considered themselves superior to the other Deccani rulers. Ismail was so captivated with Iranian culture and manners that he had his officers wear the Shia headdress and included the name of the Safavid ruler in the Friday prayers recited in the mosques of the kingdom. These acts formed part of an anti-Dakhni policy in which the sultan vowed to admit only Afaqi officers to his army and court.

After a year of uncertainty following Ismail's death, the Adil Shahi throne was occupied by the teenager Ibrahim I (1535–58), with Asad Khan as prime minister. This figure, who was probably a Sunni, revoked the pro-Shia policy of Ismail, and Dakhnis were once again favoured for military and courtly positions. Under Asad Khan's able command, the Bijapur army enjoyed successes against both Vijayanagara and Ahmadnagar, and in 1543 resisted the machinations of Sultan Jamshid of Golconda. On the western flank, they were attacked by the Portuguese, forcing Ibrahim to sue for peace. The situation had not much improved when Ali I (1558–80) succeeded, by which time Ali Shah (1543–80) was ruling at Bidar. Ali Adil Shah I reverted to Shiism, favouring the Afaqi contingent. He attempted to enter into an agreement with Ramaraya of Vijayanagara with whom he campaigned against Ahmadnagar in 1559–61. This association was abandoned in favour of the celebrated confederacy of Bidar, Ahmadnagar and Golconda against Vijayanagara. Of all the Sultanates, Bijapur benefited most from the triumph of January 1565, amassing considerable booty and securing lands beyond the Tungabhadra. An idea of the large-scale building projects that this victory made possible may be had from

the imposing Jami mosque at Bijapur (see Fig. 55). Ali I met his end by stabbing and was the first Adil Shahi sultan to be laid to rest in the capital.

Ali Barid Shah, his counterpart at Bidar, died the same year and was buried in a lofty domed monument on the outskirts of his capital (see Fig. 48). This sultan was involved in the struggles of the period, shifting his alliances from Ahmadnagar to Bijapur as circumstances dictated. Among his architectural achievements is the Rangin Mahal in the Bidar fort, the most complete and exquisitely decorated courtly structure to survive from the sixteenth century (see Figs. 97 and 98). Ali was succeeded by Ibrahim (1580–7), heir to a declining kingdom threatened by powerful states on all sides.

The long reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580–1627) is often considered a golden age in the fortunes of Bijapur. His rule began under the regency of Kamal Khan and the administration of the Habshi officer Ikhlas Khan. The importance of Ikhlas Khan, who rose to the position of prime minister, may be gauged from the miniature paintings in which he appears together with his royal patron (see Figs. 132 and 133). Ibrahim's reign was marked by war with Ahmadnagar and difficulties with disobedient chiefs. In 1591 Akbar sent a diplomatic mission to Bijapur in order to ascertain whether the Adil Shahis would accept Mughal suzerainty; Ibrahim declined. Meanwhile, Malik Ambar had recovered Ahmadnagar and attempted to invade the Bidar kingdom. Benefiting from the commander's preoccupation with the Mughals, Ibrahim succeeded in taking Bidar in 1619 and annexing the Baridi dominions. This aroused the wrath of Malik Ambar who marched unhindered to Bijapur where he stormed Ibrahim's unfinished new city of Nauraspur (see chapter 2). One minor incident of Ibrahim's reign was the loss of the island fortress of Janjira to the Habshi naval generals in 1618. Known as the Sidis, this line of local rulers was to outlast the Adil Shahis themselves.

Ibrahim II enjoys the reputation of having been the greatest patron of the arts of his era. Contemporary literature praises the sultan as a skilled poet, who preferred to use Deccani Urdu rather than Persian, as well as a musician, calligrapher and connoisseur of painting. The truth of this description is borne out by the rapturously coloured miniatures, some of them royal portraits, ascribed to his reign (Fig. 2; see also Colour Plate 1 and Figs. 121–9). Here, in a surprising way, Iranian pictorial traditions are animated by Deccani opulence and fantasy. Ibrahim was no less significant as a builder. The mausoleum and accompanying prayer hall that he completed before his death on the outskirts of the capital, a complex known as the Ibrahim Rauza, are unsurpassed for their splendid domed compositions and virtuoso stone carving (see Figs. 58 to 61).

After the death of Ibrahim II, the Dakhni contingent at court was successful in placing his second son, Muhammad (1627–56), on the Bijapur throne under the regent Khawas Khan. This noble attempted to form an alliance with Ahmadnagar in order to restrain the Mughal advance. This, however, did not prevent the emperor Shah Jahan from dispatching an army to Bijapur in 1631, directed by his

2 *Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II holding castanets*, attributed to the Bodleian painter, Bijapur, *c.* 1610–20

father-in-law, Asaf Khan. Though this expedition was repulsed, it paved the way for a better organised campaign five years later which forced Muhammad to sign a deed of submission. Having suffered this humiliation, Muhammad was freed for a time from the Mughal threat and was able to concentrate on expanding his borders.

It was during the later years of Muhammad's rule that the Adil Shahi Sultanate reached its maximum extent, hampered neither by Ahmadnagar, which by now had become part of the Mughal empire, nor by Golconda. This was the period of Bijapur's most ambitious architectural achievements, as exemplified by Muhammad's own mausoleum, the Gol Gumbad, the most technically advanced domed structure to be erected in the Deccan (see Figs. 62 and 63), reputedly the largest dome in the world after St Peter's in Rome. That this was also a time of artistic flowering is borne out by the many miniatures ascribed to Muhammad's reign. The obviously Mughal appearance of these works suggests the influence of North Indian artistic and cultural modes. Military operations under Muhammad tended to be directed southwards. Under the able leadership of Randaula Khan and Shahji, the latter having arrived from Ahmadnagar, the Bijapur troops marched into the Tamil lands where they occupied the fortresses at Vellore and Gingee, overcoming

opposition by the Nayaka kings of Thanjavur. Meanwhile, Muhammad attempted an association with Dutch traders in an attempt to restrain the Portuguese who had by now established maritime supremacy in the Arabian Sea.

One event which was to have far-reaching consequences was the insurrection of Shahji's son, Shivaji, who had been granted governorship of the Pune province, now part of Bijapur's domains. Taking advantage of Muhammad's preoccupation in the south, Shivaji occupied the citadel of Torna in 1646. Shahji was arrested by Muhammad in an attempt to subdue his disloyal son, but he was released when Shivaji capitulated. Yet Shivaji became active soon after and in 1650 took the hill forts of Purandhar and Rairi, the latter destined to become his capital as Raigad. Over the following years Shivaji captured a number of mountain strongholds in the Sahyadri ranges on the north-western fringe of the Adil Shahi territories. Though his influence extended also to the Konkan, Shivaji was unable to capture the island citadel of the Sidis at Janjira.

War with the Mughals broke out during the reign of Ali II (1656–72). Prince Aurangzeb led the Mughal army which arrived at Aurangabad in 1657 and from there headed south. Only after seizing Bidar and the fort at Kalyana did Aurangzeb march on Bijapur. But at the last moment he was recalled to Delhi by Shah Jahan and was forced to conclude a hasty peace with Ali. Both the Adil Shahis and the Mughals were troubled by raids executed with considerable daring by bands of Maratha warriors led by Shivaji. These rebels were temporarily subdued in 1665 when Shivaji was compelled to sign a treaty by which he agreed to assist in the war against the Adil Shahis. However, this did not prevent Shivaji from steadily consolidating his influence in the western Deccan. In 1674 he had himself crowned as a traditional Hindu monarch, assuming the title of chhatrapati, lord of the [royal] umbrella. The ceremony took place in his newly completed ceremonial headquarters at Raigad (see Figs. 29 and 30).

Khawas Khan assumed command of the Adil Shahi sultanate on the assumption of the throne by the infant Sikandar Ali (1672–86), but was ousted in turn by his rival, Bhalol Khan. Courtly intrigue at Bijapur left the capital open to attack by the forces of Shivaji, who then proceeded south as far as Thanjavur, absorbing all the previous Adil Shahi conquests in the Tamil lands. In 1679 Shivaji joined a contingent of the Mughal army in an attempt to besiege the Adil Shahi capital. But the campaign was abandoned and Shivaji died soon after in April 1680. Freed of his most skilled adversary, Aurangzeb, now emperor, was thus able to concentrate on the two remaining Sultanates. It was, however, not until 1685 that the Mughal army reached the outer walls of Bijapur. Some eighteen months of seige were required to force Sikander to hand over the keys of the citadel, whereupon Bijapur became a province of the Mughal empire.

THE QUTB SHAHIS

Sultan Quli Qutb al-Mulk, founder of the Qutb Shahi dynasty, rose to prominence as a governor of the Bahmanis. In 1487 he was sent to the eastern provinces of the kingdom to quell rebellious leaders. After establishing himself at Golconda, which he strengthened with rings of ramparts and formidable gates (see Figs. 24 and 25), he mounted expeditions against the forces of Vijayanagara, taking Warangal from the rebellious Shitab Khan. In the later years of his governorship Qutb al-Mulk resisted the combined armies of Bidar and Bijapur which had attempted to occupy Golconda. Unfortunately, he came to an ignoble end when he was murdered by his son, Jamshid (1543–50), who then assumed power. Though Jamshid never proclaimed himself sultan, he compelled local chiefs to accept his authority and managed to wrest several forts from the Baridis. For a time he entered into a coalition with Ahmadnagar and Berar.

The next ruler of consequence, Ibrahim (1550–80), overcame his distrust of rival sultans and lent his army to the confederacy against Vijayanagara. As a result of the 1565 victory, Ibrahim inherited the hill forts of Adoni and Udayagiri. He then raided Penukonda, the fortified site where the Vijayanagara court had fled. Ibrahim was involved for much of his reign with struggles against the Nizam Shahis. He was the first Golconda ruler to assume the title of sultan and to issue coins in his own name.

One of the first acts of Muhammad Quli (1580–1611) was to shift the Qutb Shahi capital to nearby Hyderabad. The focal point of the newly planned city was the Char Minar, the most architecturally innovative monument of the era (see Fig. 27). The flowering of poetry and painting at the new capital owed much to the personality of this sultan, who equalled his contemporary Ibrahim Adil Shah as an impassioned patron of the arts. Muhammad Quli was soon plunged into conflicts with Bijapur, as well as being threatened with aggression from the Mughal army. Chand Bibi appealed to Muhammad Quli to join the Ahmadnagar forces in a common cause against the conquerors, but her request failed. Meanwhile, the Golconda king crushed a rebellion at Kondavidu in the eastern Deccan and occupied the Vijayanagara stronghold of Gandikota.

The Mughals brought increasing pressure to bear on Muhammad, the next Qutb Shahi ruler. On receiving Shah Jahan's envoy at Golconda in 1616, Muhammad agreed to further the Mughal cause by withdrawing all support for Malik Ambar. The reign of this sultan is marked by the first contacts with European merchants who were attracted to Golconda by the diamonds and textiles for which the kingdom was famous. That Muhammad was also a capable builder is revealed by the Mecca mosque at Hyderabad, as well as by his own mausoleum in the royal necropolis at Golconda (see Fig. 68).

The Mughal menace affected much of the long reign of Abdullah (1626–72). In 1636 Abdullah was forced to sign the deed of submission, bringing the Qutb Shahi

territories directly under Shah Jahan's surveillance, thereby reducing Golconda effectively to a Mughal protectorate. Among the terms imposed, the Sunni faith was to replace Shiism as the state religion, and the name of the Mughal emperor was to be recited in the Friday prayers. But even these measures did not guarantee the end of Mughal aggression, for in 1656 Aurangzeb and his forces once again besieged Golconda.

Abul Hasan (1672–87), last of the Qutb Shahis, was led into an agreement with Shivaji whom he perceived as an ally in the struggle against the Mughals. The Maratha leader spent a whole month in Hyderabad in 1677 before mounting his southern campaign. After the fall of Bijapur to the Mughals in 1686, the imperial army was free to concentrate on Hyderabad. The third siege of Golconda lasted eight months and in September 1687 the gates of the fort were opened by treachery. Abul Hasan was taken prisoner and died three years later in captivity at Daulatabad. In spite of this sorry end to the rule of the Qutb Shahis, the Hyderabad court shows no sign of artistic decline in its later years, judging from the sumptuous portraits of royal figures and elegant maidens ascribed to the reigns of Abdullah and Abul Hasan (see Figs. 145–54), a tradition that continued into the early eighteenth century under the patronage of the Mughals, then the Asaf Jahis.

DECLINE OF THE MUGHALS, RISE OF THE ASAF JAHIS

The last two decades of Aurangzeb's life were spent in almost continuous warfare with the Marathas. In 1688–9, Aurangzeb's armies marched south and east to repossess the former territories of Bijapur and Golconda taken from the Mughals by Sambhaji (1680–9), Shivaji's son. With the help of Shaykh Nizam, former officer of Golconda who had gone over to the Mughals, Aurangzeb captured and executed Sambhaji. He then occupied Rajgad and Torna, both of which had been strengthened by Shivaji (see chapter 2). The imperial army pursued Rajaram (1689–1700), brother and successor of Sambhaji, all the way to Gingee, but it was only with difficulty that the Mughals secured this citadel in 1698. Rajaram was killed soon after and the Maratha leadership passed eventually to Sambhaji's son, Shahu (1708–49), who was also imprisoned by the Mughals. Aurangzeb met with little resistance when he occupied Pune and Satara, principal centres of Maratha power.

Though much preoccupied with these campaigns, Aurangzeb found time to build extensively, especially at Aurangabad. This city, renamed after the emperor himself, served as capital of the Mughal empire from 1693 until his death. The fortifications, gates and royal residence constructed during Aurangzeb's reign still stand (see chapter 2); so too the imposing garden tomb of his wife, known popularly as the Bibi-ka Maqbara, erected in 1661 by his son Azam Shah, then governor of the Deccan (see Fig. 75). In spite of the instability of the emperor's later

years as well as of those of his successors, the Mughal court at Aurangabad enjoyed vigorous artistic activity, owing mainly to the patronage of high-ranking officers in Aurangzeb's service, including many Rajput officers. Paintings in a mixed Mughal-Rajput style were produced at Aurangabad and other centres at this time (see Figs. 117–19).

Aurangzeb's deep attachment to Sufi saints at Khuldabad explains his decision to be buried in the simplest possible manner next to the tomb of Shaykh Zainuddin Shirazi. The emperor's death in 1707 initiated a struggle among his sons for control of the Deccan. Azam ascended the Mughal throne at Ahmadnagar barely one month after his father's death. Before withdrawing to Delhi, he released Shahu in a bid to encourage civil strife among different Maratha factions. Since the Deccani wars had proved costly, the pay of the Mughal army was kept in arrears. This proved a handicap for Azam who was challenged by his brother Muazzam, who eventually ascended the imperial seat as Shah Alam Bahadur Shah (1707–13). A dispute with the Deccani nobles was resolved with the appointment of Dhulfiqar Khan as viceroy. He intrigued with other Mughal princes in an effort to dislodge Bahadur Shah. Though Dhulfiqar was appointed prime minister, he did not relinquish his governorship of the Deccan which he continued to control through his deputy Dawud Khan.

Dynastic turmoil in Delhi, which resulted in Farrukh Siyar (1713–19) being crowned emperor, together with the depleted treasury of the Mughal army, forced Dawud Khan to accept the military support of the Marathas. In return, the Maratha generals were permitted to collect taxes from the southernmost provinces of the Deccan. In 1713 Dawud Khan was replaced by Nizam al-Mulk who ended the remission of taxes, thereby earning the loyalty of disaffected Maratha chieftains such as Sambhaji of Kolhapur (1714–60), a rival claimant to Shahu's throne. After his recall to Delhi and the murder of Farrukh Siyar, Nizam al-Mulk was appointed prime minister of Muhammad Shah (1719–48), the new emperor. In 1724 he returned to Aurangabad where he confronted the armed opposition of the Mughal nobles. The ensuing battle was only won with the aid of Bajirao, the peshwa, or chief minister, of Shahu. In the following year Muhammad Shah conferred on Nizam al-Mulk the title of Asaf Jah in gratitude, confirming his governship of the Deccan and leaving him to rule virtually free of interference from Delhi. The Asaf Jahi kingdom, as it came to be known, developed into the last great bastion of Islamic culture in India, surviving until 1950.

The vast territories encompassed by the six Deccani provinces, extending from the Narmada in the north to the Kaveri in the south, yielded an income almost equal to that of the rest of the Mughal empire including Afghanistan. In consequence, Nizam al-Mulk's power rivalled that of the Delhi ruler himself. Supported by adequate funds, Nizam al-Mulk bestowed estates on his nobles and promoted his officers. Though enjoying effective autonomy, he avoided the use of royal

insignia, assuming the title of Nizam instead, a practice followed by his successors. The sack of Delhi in 1739 by Nadir Shah of Iran and the consequent loss of the imperial treasury signalled the end of Mughal leadership.

A struggle for succession lasting three years ensued upon Nizam al-Mulk's death in 1748. It was his third son, Salabat Jang (1751–62), who emerged victorious, aided by French troops under Dupleix and Bussey. This ruler paid his debt to the French by conceding to them trading possessions on the Bay of Bengal coast. Salabat Jang maintained his own contingent of European troops in an effort to ward off the Marathas. On the outbreak of war between England and France in 1756, the French were driven out of the region by the English with whom Salabat Jang had concluded various arrangements. The Maratha forces invaded the Asaf Jahi territories soon after, compelling Salabat Jang to surrender Aurangabad and Bidar in 1761. As a result, Salabat Jang's nobles lost confidence in his capability as an effective leader and he was deposed by his younger brother, Nizam Ali Khan, Asaf Jah II (1762–1802).

This ruler was responsible for transferring the Asaf Jahi capital from Aurangabad to Hyderabad. Nizam Ali Khan then set about recovering the territories lost to the Marathas, beginning with the reoccupation of Daulatabad. Hostilities against the Marathas continued up to 1765 when peace was finally achieved. This permitted the Nizam to enter into a treaty with the English by which they would furnish him with subsidiary forces in return for a permanent presence in Hyderabad.

The outstanding event during these years was the growing influence of Haidar Ali, a noble who had distinguished himself in earlier Mughal campaigns and who had acted as governor in the southern part of the Kannada lands. Haidar's aggressive campaigns, together with those of his son and successor, Tipu Sultan, persuaded Nizam Ali Khan to ally himself with both the Marathas and the English. Though these forces were successful in 1791, this did not prevent Tipu from reasserting his power; nor did it dissuade the Marathas from turning against the Nizam. No doubt it was the fear of Maratha domination that persuaded the Hyderabad ruler to agree to the establishment of a British garrison at nearby Secunderabad. According to a new treaty of 1798, Nizam Ali Khan was compelled to join forces with the British against Tipu. But the triumph over this valiant figure at Srirangapattana in 1799 did not mean the end of Maratha attacks, which were to continue into the following century.

DISPERSAL OF MARATHA POWER

Shivaji's ascendancy during the period of the Mughal invasion of the Deccan and his coronation at Raigad in 1674 have already been noted; so too the careers of Sambhaji and Rajaram, both of whom met their deaths at the hands of the Mughals. With Shivaji begins the revival of Hindu traditions that was to become the outstanding feature of eighteenth-century Maratha culture. This led to the

increased popularity of Hindu pilgrimage sites with the consequent resuscitation of temple architecture and art which display many innovative tendencies (see chapter 8).

The Marathas under Shahu commanded most of the western Deccan, but were unable to expand eastwards owing to the Mughal presence. Under the able leadership of Balaji Vishvanath (1714–20), the first peshwa, the Marathas accepted the vassalage of the Delhi emperor, but with the right to collect taxes from the northern provinces. As representative of Maratha power, Balaji personally visited Delhi in 1719 to ratify the terms of the treaty. The next year his son, Bajirao I (1720–40), succeeded as the second peshwa. It was this minister who conceived the notion of expanding northward, and in this endeavour he was joined by the Gaekwad, Holkar, Shinde and Bhonsale chiefs. Bajirao's campaign proceeded rapidly and by 1729 the Maratha armies had passed through Malwa and Gujarat on their way to Rajasthan. The peshwa pushed on to Delhi and in 1737 briefly held the Mughal emperor to ransom. Bajirao next turned his attention to the Konkan and developed the Maratha naval capacity at ports like Alibag. He attacked the Portuguese possessions of Bassein and Chaul, both of which fell in 1740. Among the building projects of the second peshwa are the fortified residence of Shanwar Wada and the temple of Omkareshvara, both at Pune (see Fig. 188).

Shahu chose Bajirao's son, Balaji Bajirao, known also as Nana Saheb (1740–61), as the third peshwa. His rule coincided with the greatest extent of Maratha influence. Successful raids on Bihar and Orissa brought parts of East India within the Maratha orbit. By this time, the Maratha kingdom of Thanjavur had enjoyed virtual autonomy for several decades. The Marathas fought only one major campaign against Hyderabad in these years. It began with the siege of Aurangabad and ended in 1751 with the annexation of Khandesh and the western half of Berar. By the middle of the eighteenth century the Marathas had occupied substantial tracts of the former Mughal empire and in the process had adopted many aspects of Mughal administration. The impact of Mughal culture on Maratha art is also seen in the brightly coloured murals produced at this time (see chapter 4). A significant departure from Mughal procedure, however, was the autonomy with which the Maratha chiefs ruled the conquered territories: the Gaekwads in Baroda, the Holkars in Indore, the Shindes in Gwalior, the Bhonsales at Nagpur. These figures had considerable impact on the revival of temple building in the regions under their control, as can be seen at Trimbak, Ellora and Jejuri (see chapter 8).

Rebellion broke out at the death of Shahu and Nana Saheb had difficulty in persuading the Maratha chiefs to accept Ram Raja as chhatrapati in 1749. Thereupon, the Marathas came into conflict with the French, whom they routed with ease in 1751. The defeat of the combined Maratha forces at Panipat in 1761 by the Afghan army, however, signalled the beginning of their decline. The fourth and fifth peshwas, Madhavrao I (1761–72) and Narayanrao (1772–4), had difficulty in controlling the breakaway Maratha factions and keeping the Hyderabad forces at

bay. Madhavrao II (1774–96), who succeeded as the sixth peshwa, allied himself with the English in an attempt to curb the rise of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan. By the time the British stormed Srirangapattana in 1799, the Maratha state had disintegrated into civil war.

CHAPTER 2

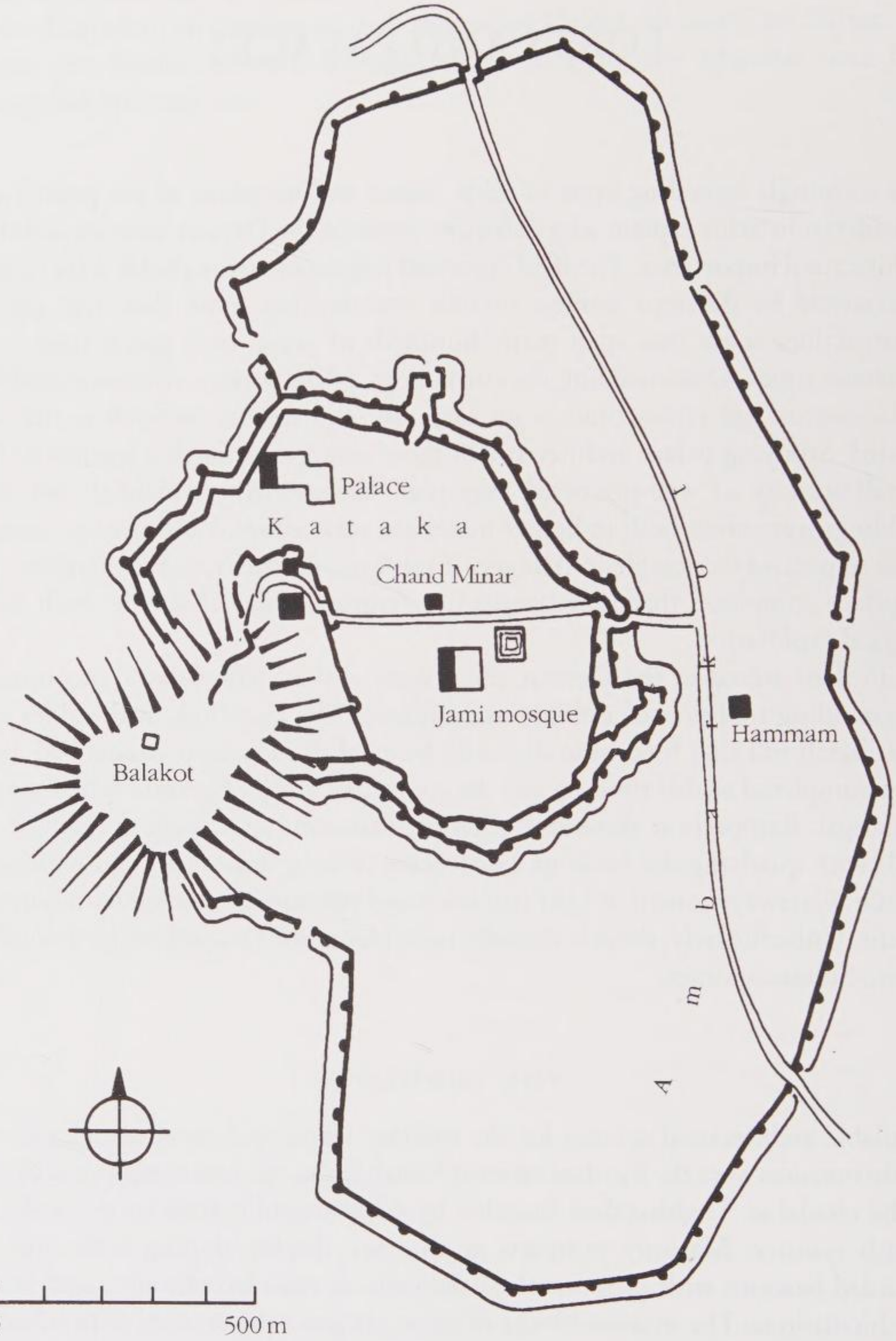
FORTS AND PALACES

The seemingly unending cycle of raids, sieges and invasions of the period under consideration helps explain why defensive works in the Deccan were accorded such architectural importance. Fortified cities and impressive strongholds were occupied successively by different armies, thereby experiencing more than one phase of construction; some sites span many hundreds of years, even going back to pre-Sultanate times. Disentangling the chronology of the various structural additions, replacements and renovations is no easy task and further research is still much needed. Studying palace architecture in these centuries is further hampered by an overall scarcity of well-preserved examples. Ceremonial, residential and service buildings were often built in lighter materials, such as wood and plaster, rendering these structures vulnerable to damage, if not total destruction. Furthermore, parts of palace complexes that now consist of overgrown piles of rubble await archaeological exploration.

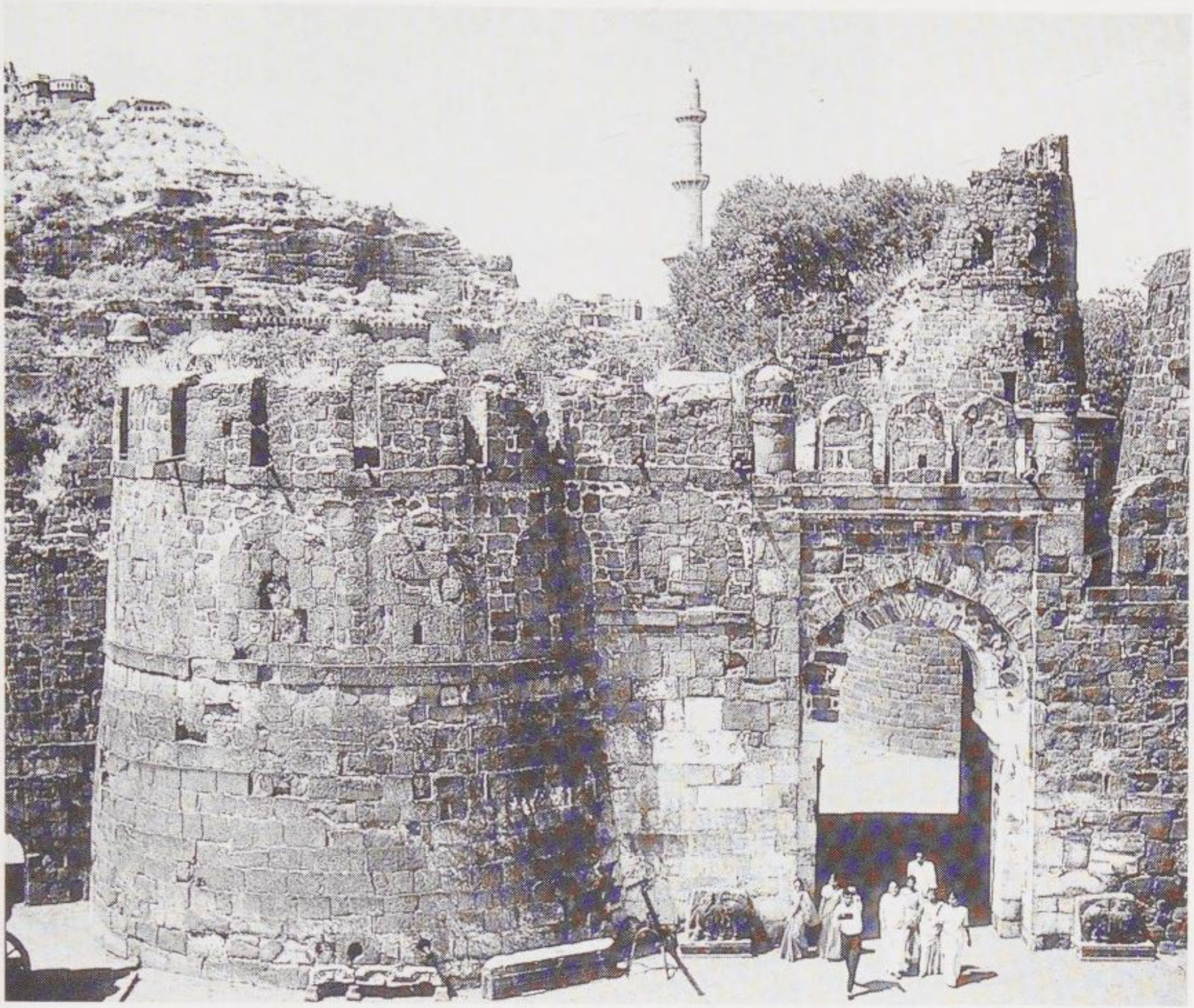
On their arrival in the Deccan, the armies of the Delhi sultans encountered a longstanding tradition of military architecture. The chiselling of the sides of the great basalt hill that forms the dramatic focus of the Devagiri citadel had already been completed at this time; so too the concentric rings of granite fortifications at Warangal. Ramparts at these and other pre-Sultanate sites, such as Raichur, have walls with quadrangular bastions constructed of long stone slabs laid without any mortar. Gateways consist of bent entrances and passageways roofed with horizontal beams. Unfortunately, there is virtually no evidence for Deccani palace architecture in pre-Sultanate times.

THE TUGHLUQS

Available architectural sources for the military works and royal complexes of the Delhi invaders were the fortified cities of North India, the most impressive of which is the citadel at Tughluqabad founded by Ghiyathuddin Shah in the early fourteenth century. Masonry ramparts at this site display sloping walls and large rounded bastions with prominent battlements of rounded elements and box-like machicolations. The massive blocks of stone are generally secured with substantial mortar. The courtly complex within the walls of Tughluqabad, now in an advanced state of decay, appears to consist of a sequence of arcaded courts punctuated by audience halls and places of prayer. Gates and portals are bridged by stone arches with angled profiles; flattish domes and pointed vaults span the chambers of residential and service structures.



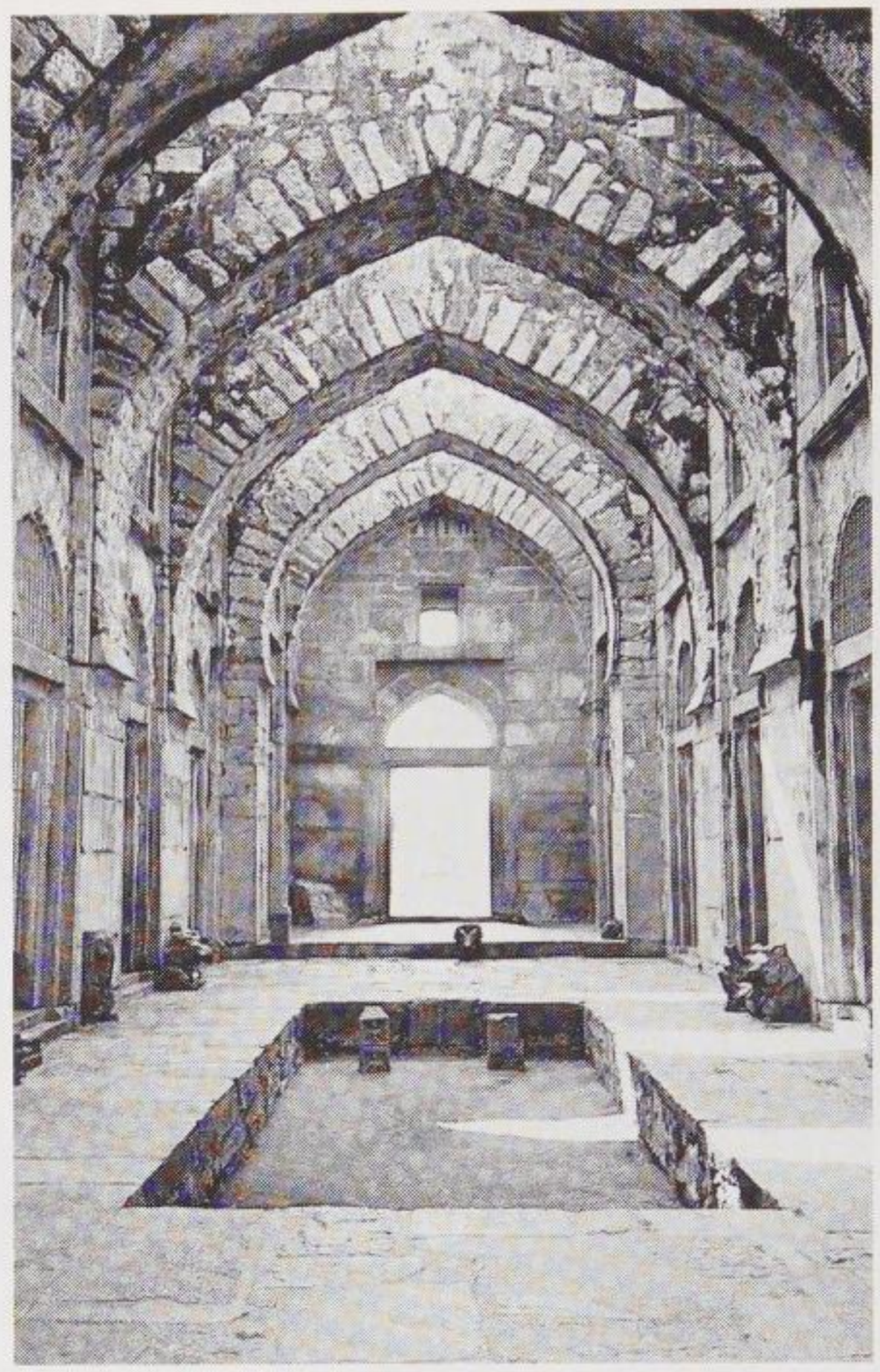
3 Plan of fort, Daulatabad, fourteenth to seventeenth centuries



4 Entrance to Balakot, Daulatabad, fourteenth century

All these stylistic and technical features were introduced into the Deccan following the Muslim conquest. This, however, is not at first apparent under the Khaljis, who seem to have had little opportunity to build on a grand scale. (The mosques that they erected somewhat hastily at Bijapur and Daulatabad are noted in chapter 3). The situation changed under the Tughluqs, who did not merely invade the Deccan, but for a time transferred their capital there. The occupation of the former Yadava stronghold at Devagiri was accompanied by substantial building works. The Tughluq commanders exploited to advantage the rock citadel, which they termed Balakot, adding an intermediate circular fort known as Kataka on its northern and eastern flanks. They were also responsible for Ambarkot, the fort which fans out in an irregular ellipse, almost 2 kilometres from north to south (Fig. 3). Both Kataka and Ambarkot benefit from double circuits of massive ramparts set at a marked angle and lined with slit holes and battlements. The two lines of walls of Kataka employ polygonal and round bastions; the higher inner line is distinguished by box-like machicolations. Broad moats provide additional protection.

The Delhi gate in the northern walls of Ambarkot has an arched opening decorated with sculpted lions in the spandrels. Of greater interest is the entrance on



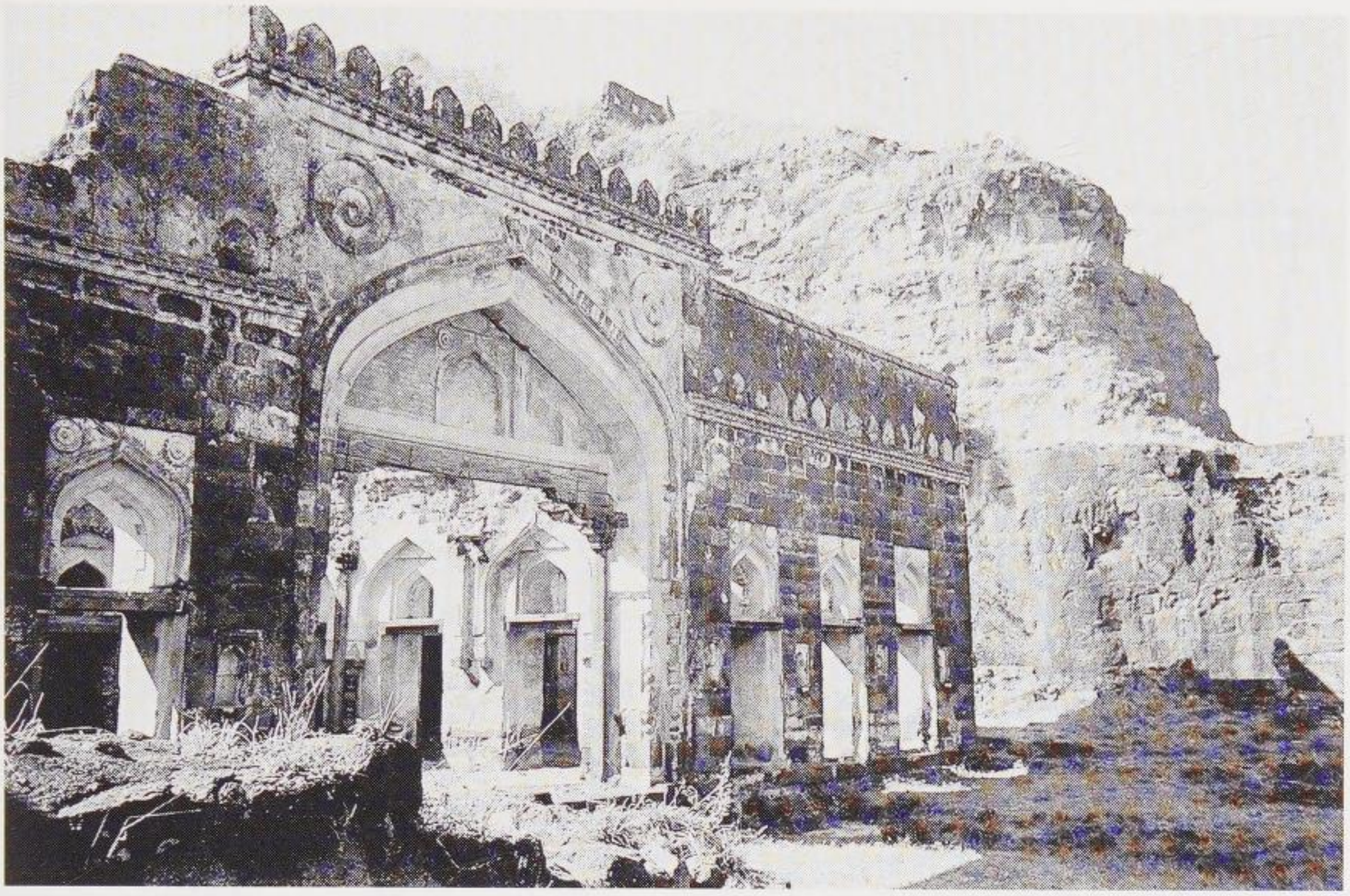
5 Khush Mahal, Warangal, early fourteenth century

the east side of Kataka which presents a sequence of arched gates and intermediate courts. They are shielded by massive outworks with curved outlines projecting almost 80 metres away from the main line of fortifications. A street running westward leads to a similar gate in the walls of Balakot, its arched entrance set between tapering circular buttresses (Fig. 4).

There is only scattered evidence for Tughluq building activities elsewhere in the Deccan. The Khush Mahal at Warangal, previously attributed to a Qutb Shahi governor after which it is named, has recently been identified as an audience hall erected by the Tughluqs when they occupied this site (Fig. 5). As the only surviving ceremonial structure of the era, the Khush Mahal is of unusual interest. The building consists of a long north-facing chamber with arched openings on four sides. Transverse arches with slightly horseshoe-shaped profiles, a dinstinctive Tughluq feature not found in later architecture, once carried a timber roof, now lost.

THE BAHMANIS

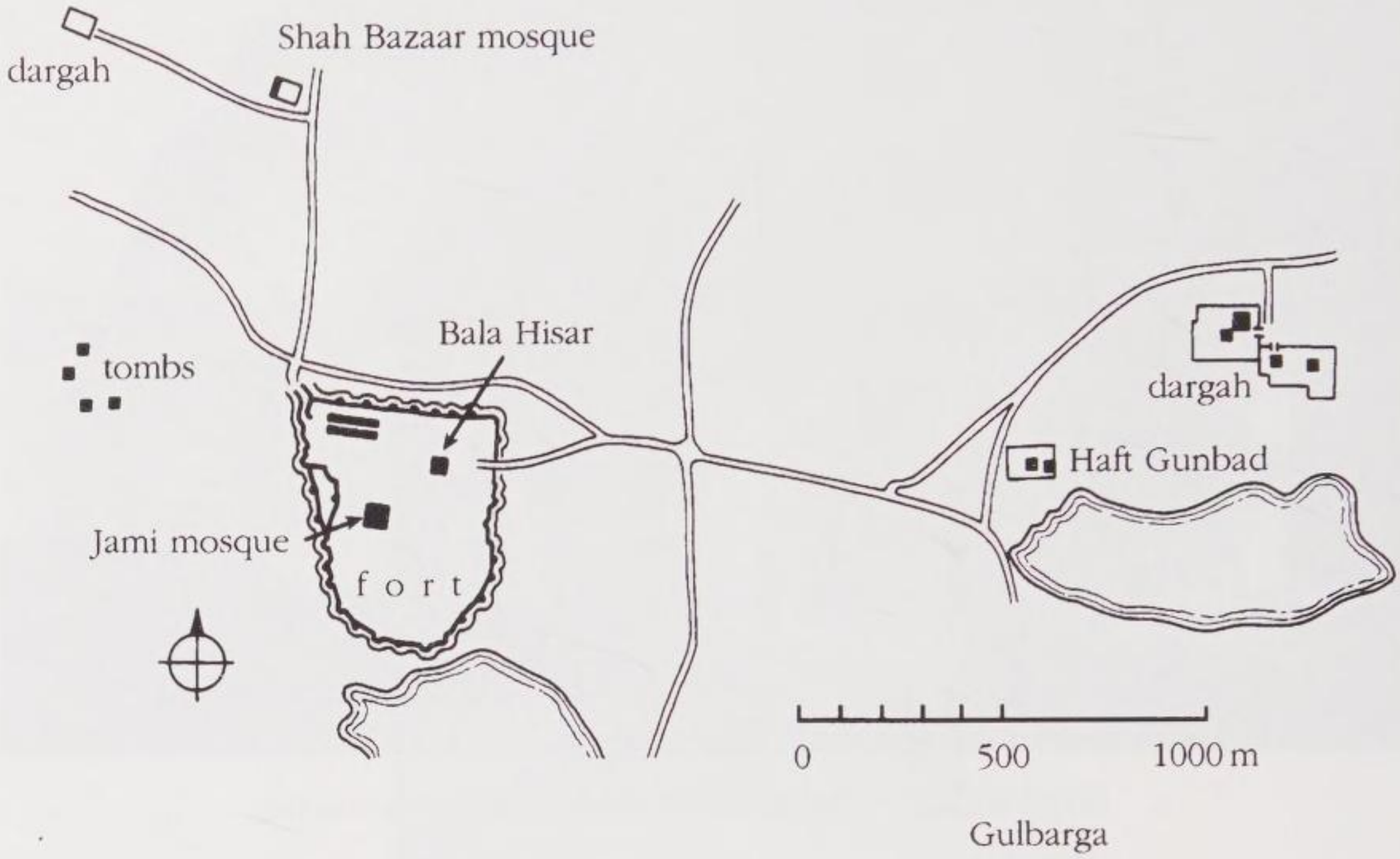
Historical continuity between the Tughluqs and the Bahmanis is reflected in both military works and palaces. Building activity continued at Daulatabad under the



6 Royal residence, Balakot, Daulatabad, fifteenth century

first Bahmanis. The ruined residence within Balakot is contained by high walls and entered on the north side through an arched gate (Fig. 6). Triple chambers inside have arched doorways opening off an internal court. Surviving details include carved wooden beams and brackets set into the walls, sharply incised plasterwork with geometric and arabesque motifs in bands and medallions, and perforated windows with geometric designs in plaster-covered brickwork (see chapter 4). These attributes were to become hallmarks of the mature Bahmani style.

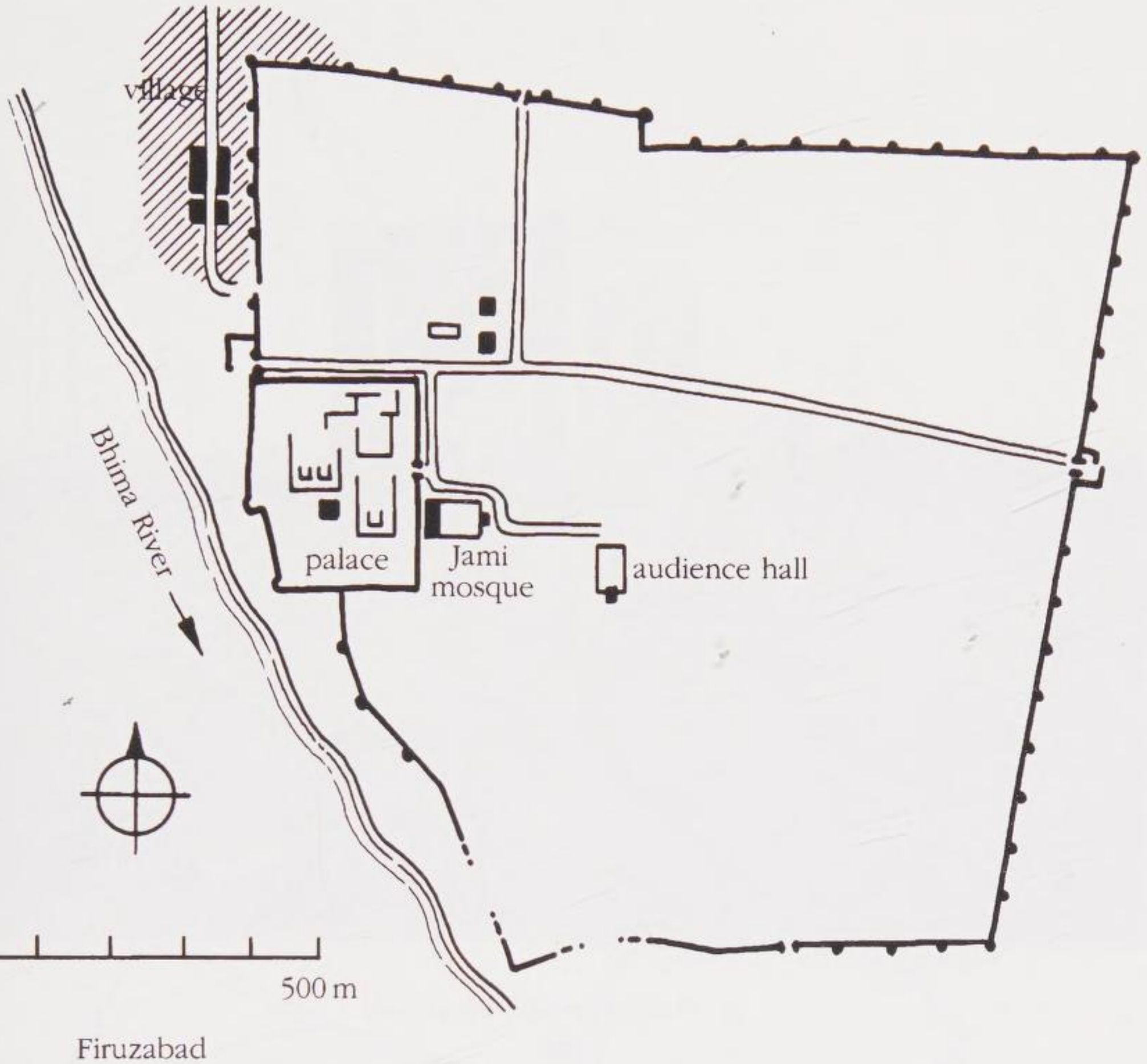
Mounds of overgrown rubble are the only traces of courtly structures inside the citadel at Gulbarga. The circular fort containing the royal enclave, however, is well preserved thanks to later repairs by the Adil Shahis. Tapering stone walls with round bastions define an irregularly shaped circle, more than 300 metres across (Fig. 7). The east gate, which faces towards the city, has a pointed arched opening flanked by towers. That at the north-west corner, leading to the royal tombs a short distance beyond (see Fig. 38), is more imposing, being contained within curving walls set into the ramparts. The gate leads to a bazaar street inside the fort. This consists of two lines of small square chambers with arched doorways sheltered by angled eaves; the chambers are roofed with pyramidal vaults. Other than the Jami mosque (see Figs. 36 and 37), the only other feature of interest inside the Gulbarga fort is the Bala Hisar. This solid keep, the top of which is reached by a staircase on the north side, seems to have been intended as a vaulted audience hall, but was later filled in. Nothing can now be seen of the probable circular walls that once protected the city.



7 Plan of fort and city, Gulbarga, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

That Bahmani forts were not confined to circular configurations is clear at Firuzabad, 30 kilometres south of Gulbarga (Fig. 8). Intended as a military encampment as well as a pleasure resort, Firuzabad is laid out as an irregular square, almost 1,000 metres across, defined by massive walls on three sides and by the Bhima river on the west. Gateways on the east and west have arched entrances framed by polygonal bastions and shielded by barbican enclosures. Passageways are roofed with pointed vaults articulated with shallow ribs. The walled palace area overlooking the river is entered from the east through a ceremonial portal with traces of animal motifs in moulded plaster set in the spandrels. The interior consists of a confused mass of dilapidated structures and fallen stone blocks. Double-storeyed chambers with arcaded side walls, now missing their wooden floors and roofs, may have accommodated the various queens and their retinues. A similar but larger double-storeyed structure facing north into a rectangular court outside the royal zone served as a public audience hall (Fig. 9). Its floors and roof have long ago disappeared, exposing the sequence of transverse arches.

Hammams at Firuzabad are the earliest in the Deccan. The bath within the palace area has a dome surrounded by low pyramidal vaults. Chambers used for disrobing and bathing still preserve their original plasterwork. This hammam was



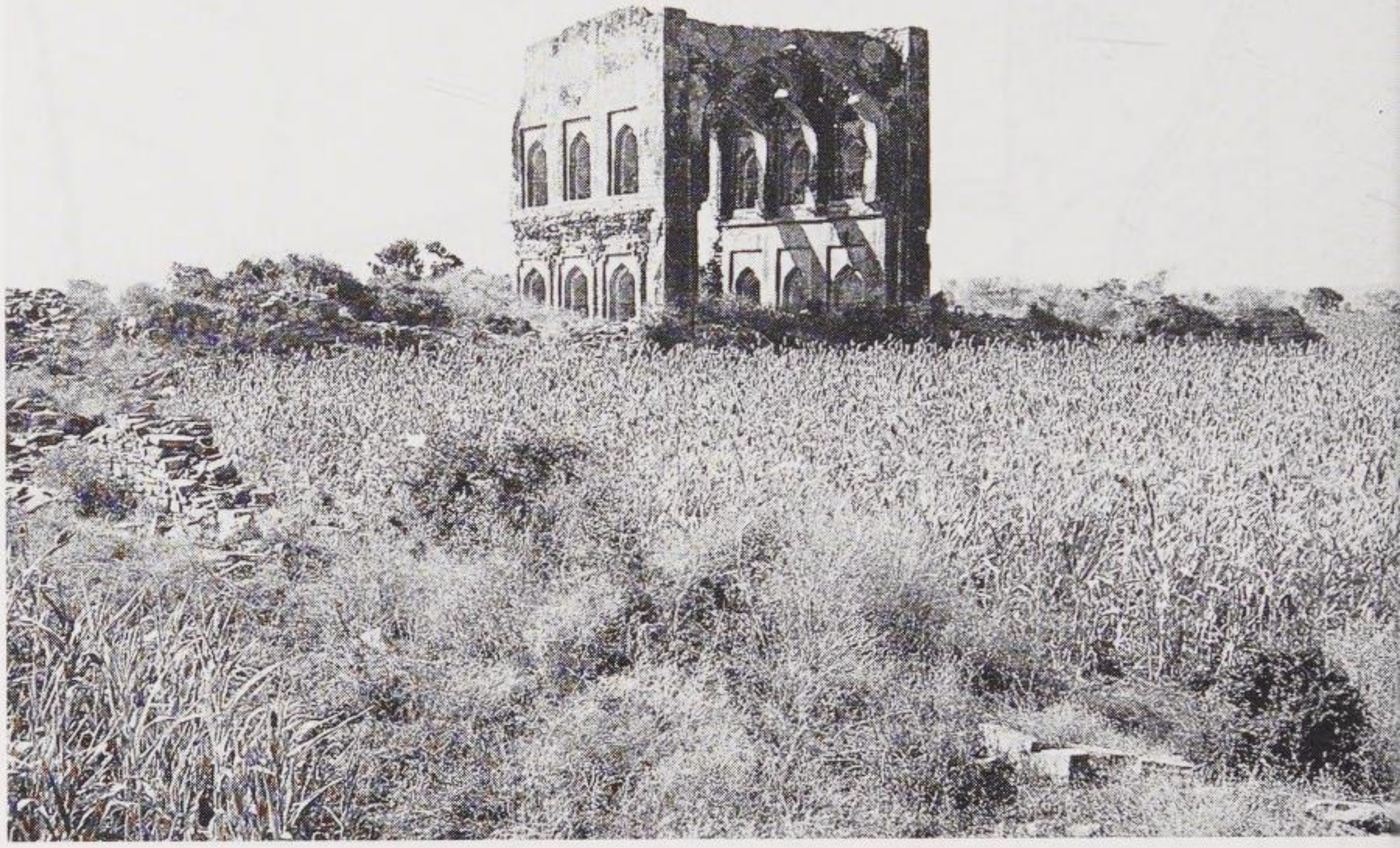
Firuzabad

8 Plan of palace city, Firuzabad, founded 1400

probably intended for members of Firuz's private household, in contrast to the more decayed bath of similar design a short distance east of the royal area, designated for public use. Two lines of small vaulted chambers defining a bazaar street, as in the Gulbarga fort, are seen outside the city walls near to the river.

An idea of the civic architecture sponsored by the governors of the early Bahmanis is seen at Sagar, now a remote town 80 kilometres south of Gulbarga. Though the earthen walls that surrounded this settlement have vanished, an imposing gateway bearing an inscription of 1407 still stands. The entrances with angled arches are surrounded by bands of plaster decoration. Low pyramidal vaults rise from the corners of the roof.

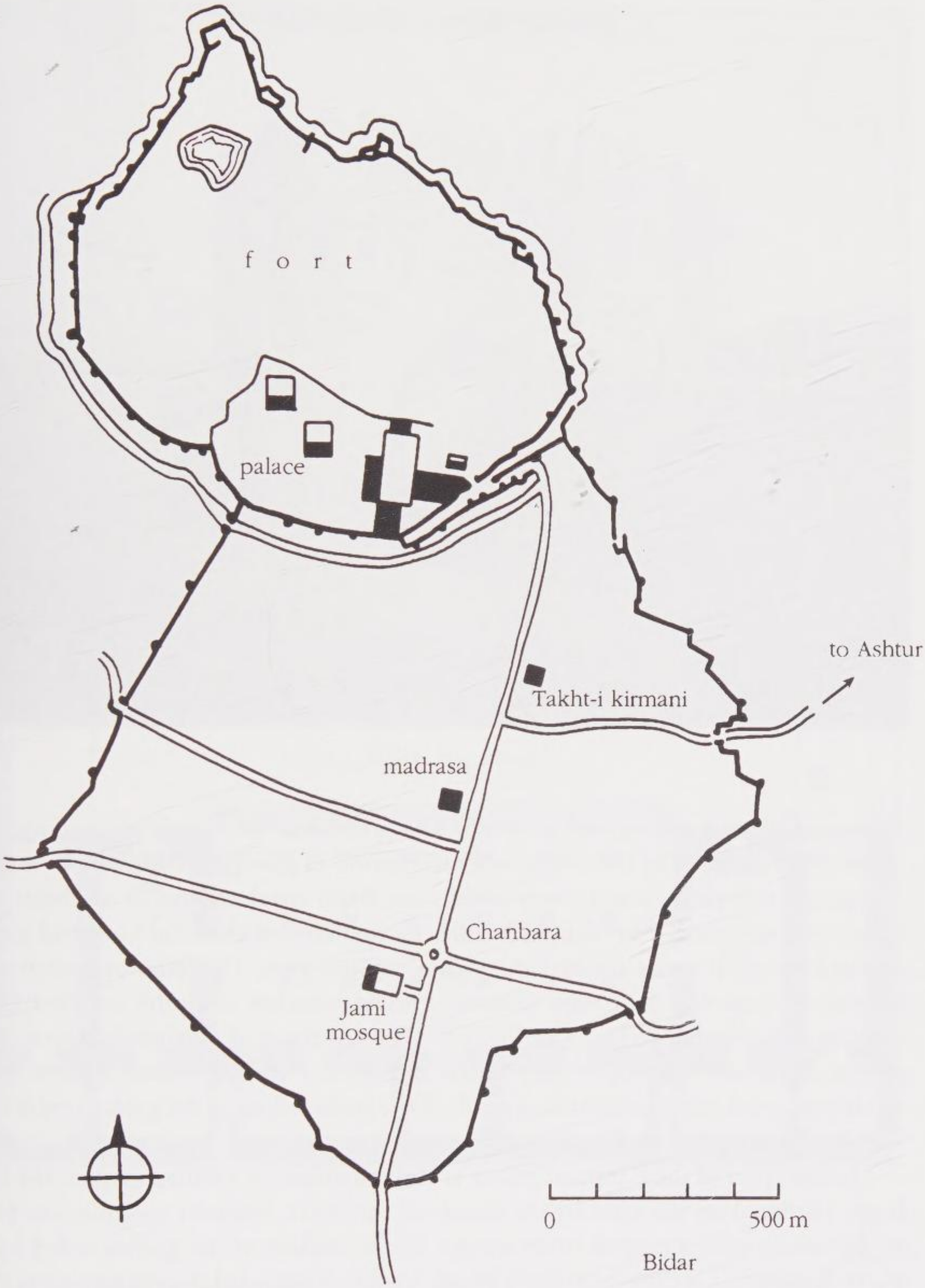
Bidar, the later Bahmani capital established by Ahmad I, is laid out as two separate zones (Fig. 10). The irregular circular fort containing the royal enclave is located to the north, on rising sandstone bluffs. To the south is the partly quadrangular city, with two main streets crossing at right angles. The intersection is



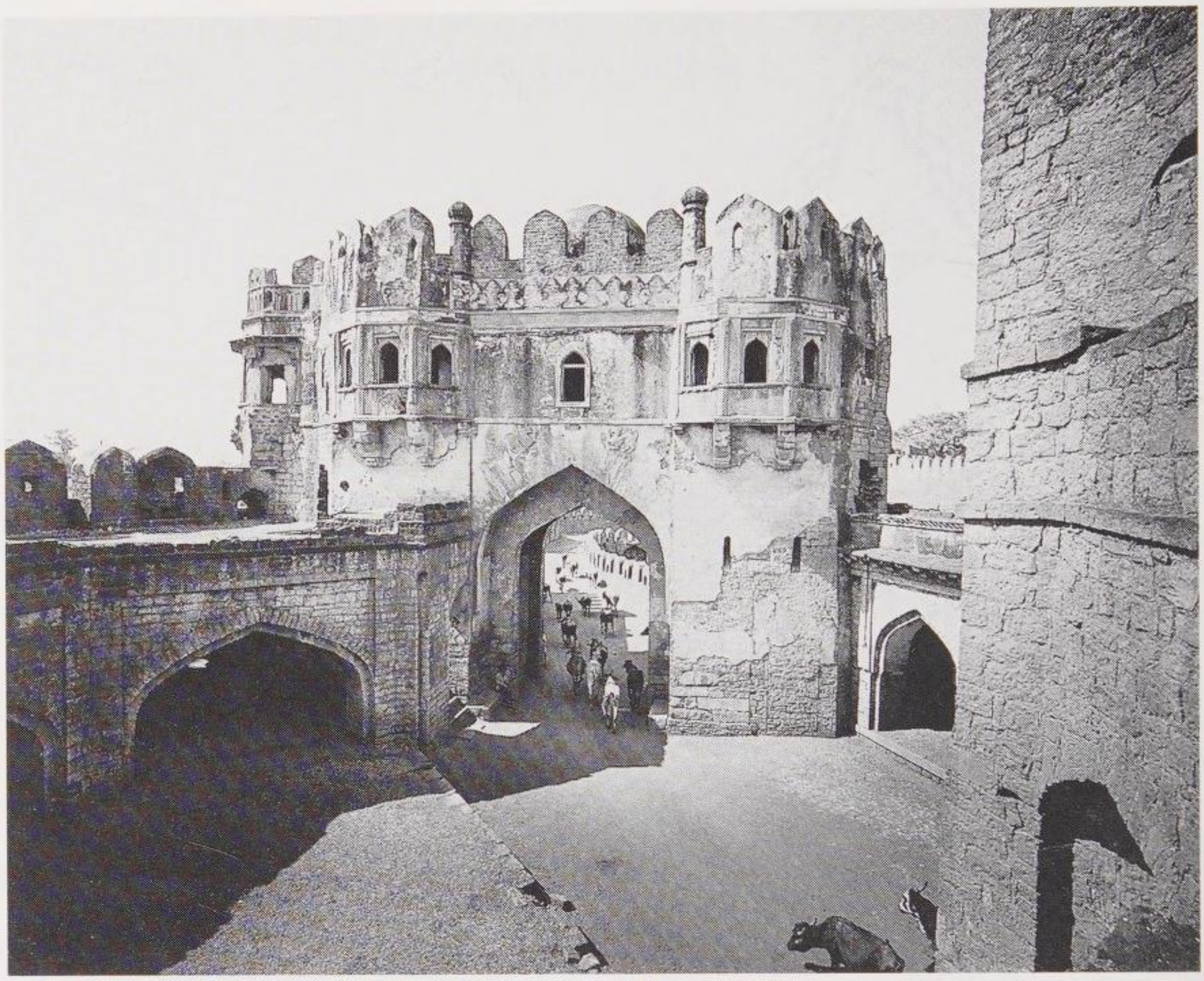
9 Audience hall, Firuzabad

marked by a circular tower, the Chaubara. An idea of the grand scale of this plan may be had from the length of the north–south axial street which runs for about 1,500 metres. Finely finished sandstone walls enclosing both fort and city are strengthened by polygonal bastions with bold crenellations and box-like machicolations on triple brackets. An additional line of walls on the south side of the fort is shielded by a moat with rock-cut trenches. A sequence of three gates at the south-eastern corner leads from the city to the fort. The intermediate Sharza gate, dated 1504, has polygonal balconies projecting from the sides with a band of coloured tiles running across the high parapet (Fig. 11). The Gumbad gate, reached only after passing across the moat, has double arches with pointed contours surmounted by a flattish dome.

The ensemble of courtly monuments within Bidar's fort, though now incomplete, gives the best possible idea of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century planning. Unlike the strongly Tughluq character of early Bahmani military and courtly architecture, the palaces and religious buildings of the later Bahmanis display the impact of Iranian traditions (see also chapter 3). This is most apparent in the formal layout of the Bidar palace, with its axial alignments of residential apartments,



10 Plan of fort and city, Bidar, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries



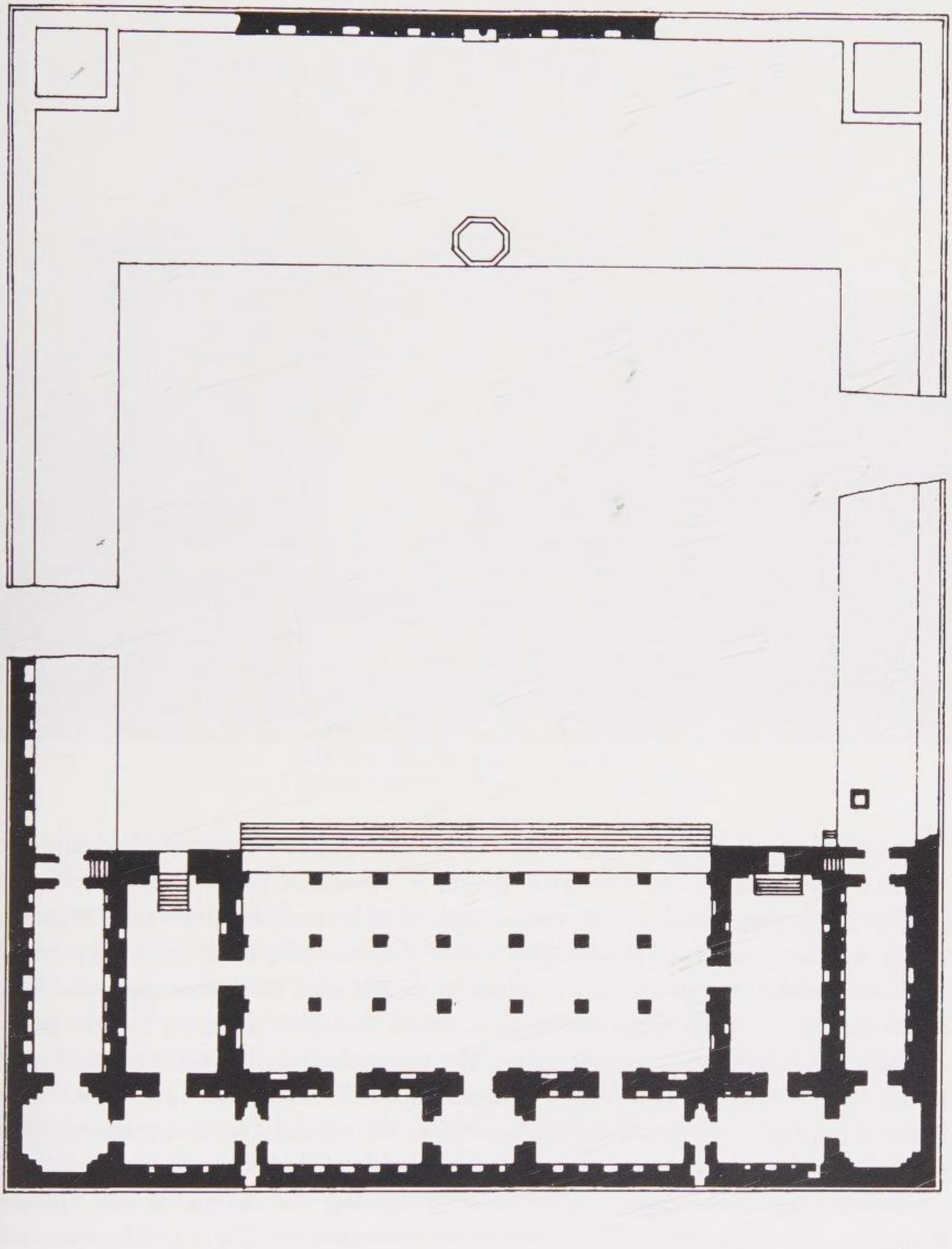
11 Sharza gate, Bidar, 1504

audience halls and ceremonial gateways. The preference for steeply pointed arches and recesses outlined in stone is another indication of foreign influence.

Separate complexes stand freely within the Bidar royal enclave or are built up against the ramparts. The Rangin Mahal, immediately within the Gumbad gate, overlooks a small court reached through a vaulted gate. The interior apartment consists of a six-bay hall with ornately carved wooden columns and brackets carrying a flat timber ceiling (see Fig. 98). The sequence of exquisitely appointed private chambers opening to the rear is notable for its tile mosaic dadoes and mother-of-pearl inlay decoration, a result of the remodelling of the palace under the later Baridis (see Colour Plate 13 and Fig. 97).

The next part of the Bahmani palace at Bidar focuses on a walled garden, the Lal Bagh, bordered on the west by the façade of the Solah Khamba mosque (see Fig. 35). A cistern with a cusped stone margin in the middle of the garden is fed by a water channel. This runs from the Tarkash Mahal, its arcaded storeys serving as the southern perimeter of the Lal Bagh, to the royal bath to the north. Both the Tarkash Mahal and the adjacent Gagan Mahal consist of multi-bay vaulted halls facing onto small internal courts.

The Diwan-i Am and Takht Mahal at Bidar are associated with the ceremonial

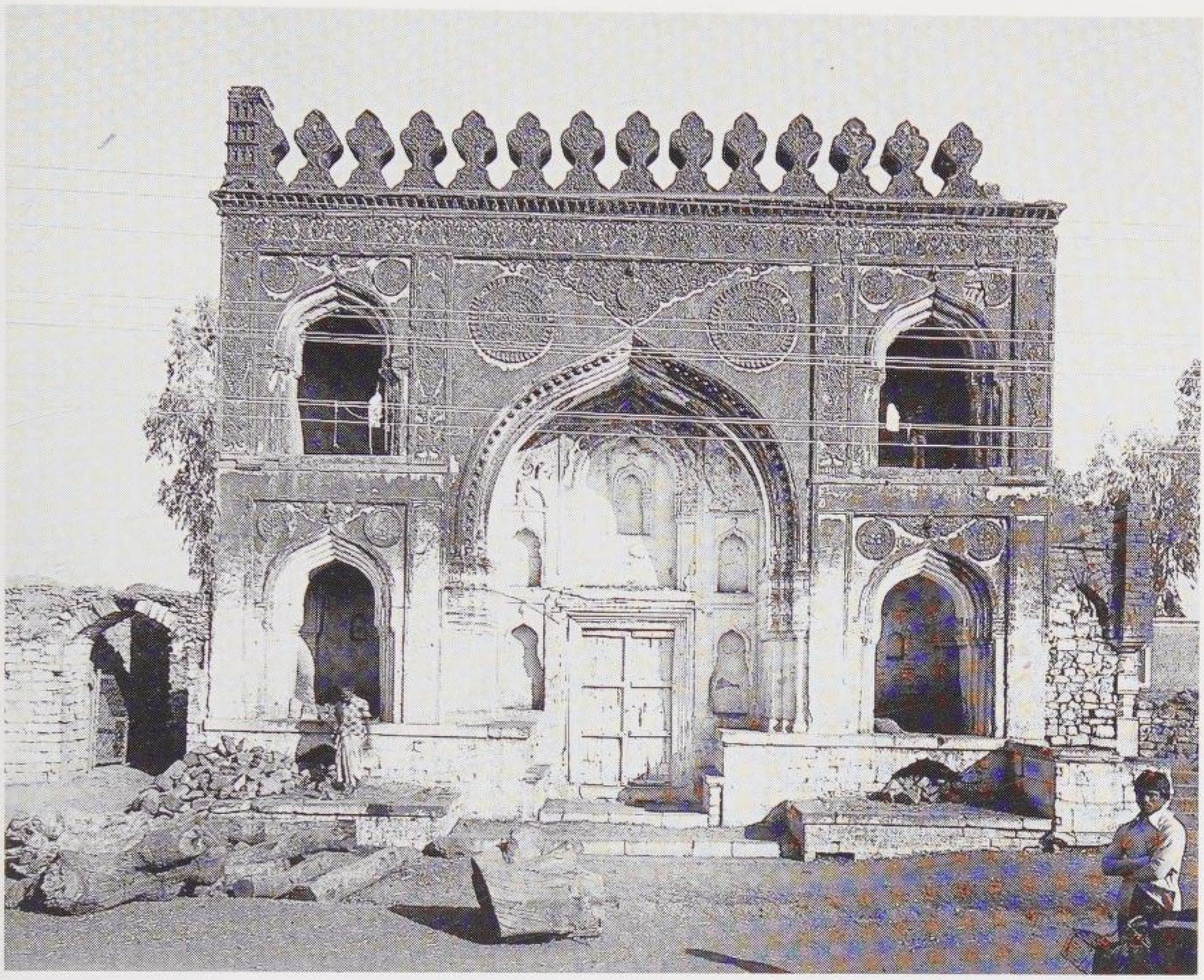


12 Plan of Diwan-i Am, Bidar, fifteenth century

13 Diwan-i Am with Takht Mahal

activities of the Bahmani court (Figs. 12 and 13). They comprise quadrangular walled compounds entered through imposing but detached gateways. The northern parts of the compounds serve as courts overlooked by audience halls on the south. Finely worked stone steps run the full width of these halls, while similarly treated elements indicate regularly spaced columns, presumably in timber and now lost. Subsidiary side chambers have walls punctuated by arched recesses, but the polychrome tiled panels are now mostly lost. The side chamber with a complicated plan in the Takht Mahal is identified as a throne room. This is entered through a lofty portal dominated by a pointed arched recess in the typical Timurid manner. Wall panels and arched recesses are defined by thin strips of dark-coloured basalt.

Iranian inspiration appears also to have dictated the design of the Takht-i Kirmani, a gate facing onto Bidar's main north–south street (Fig. 14). This once led to a set of apartments intended for a saint and his descendants who migrated from Kirman, hence the name. The building is dominated by a central arched opening, the curving sides of which are fashioned in multiple planes incorporating rows of buds. A doorway surrounded by shallow niches is set within the arch; enlarged medallions fill its spandrels. Similar but smaller arched openings are arranged on two levels on either side. The façade is topped with a bold parapet with trefoil

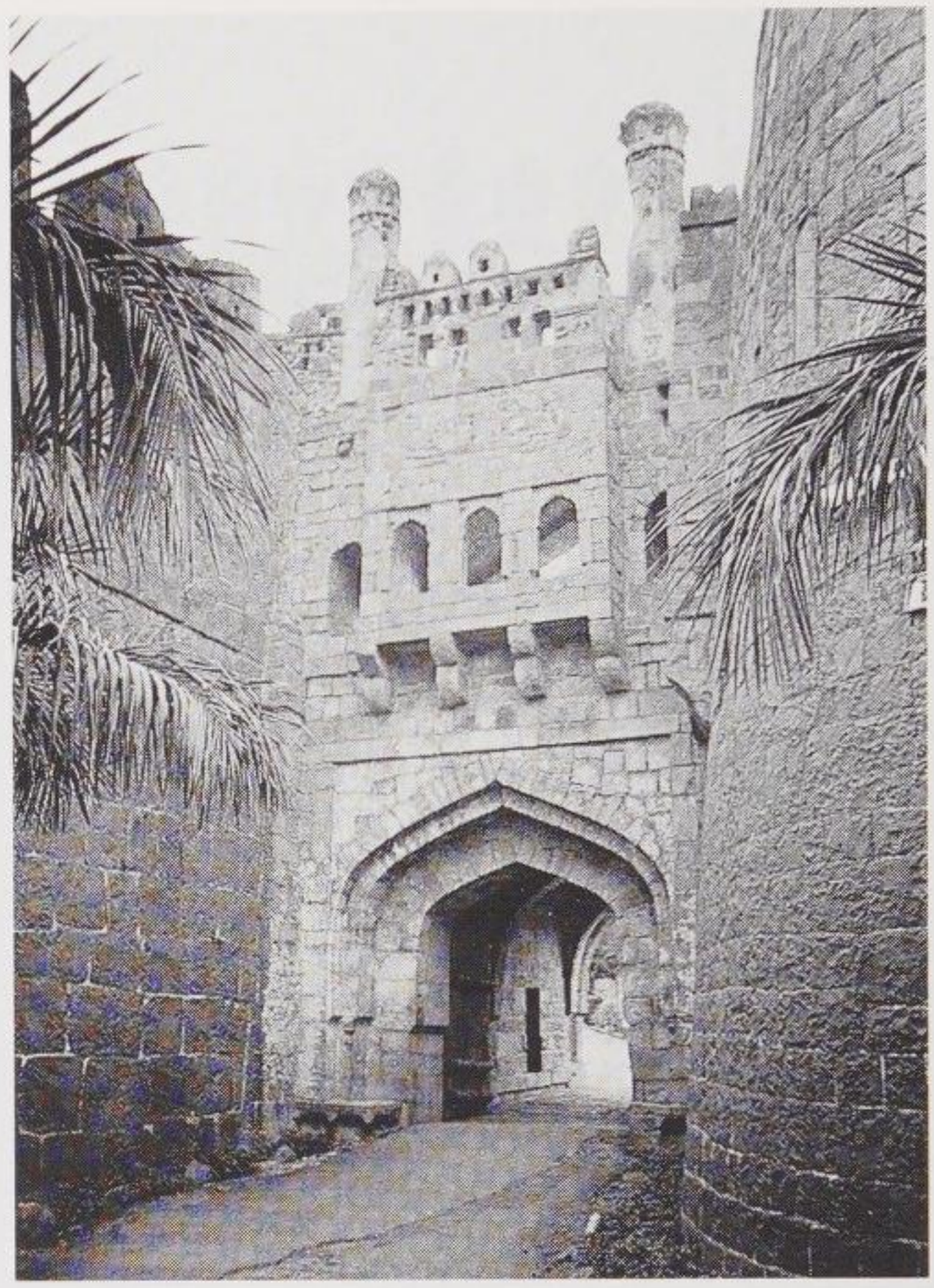


14 Takht-i Kirmani, Bidar, fifteenth century

elements which runs between domical finials. (The elaborate plasterwork is discussed in chapter 4.)

A line of strongholds running between Bidar and Daulatabad reinforced the western flank of the Bahmani dominions. Kalyana, 75 kilometres south-west of Bidar, comprises two irregular circular forts arranged in concentric formation, the outer ring of which is assigned to the Bahmani period. This displays standard fifteenth-century features, such as sloping walls with massive round and polygonal bastions topped with bold crenellations and box-like machicolations on brackets. Sholapur, about 100 kilometres further west, is laid out as a quadrangle, about 320 by 175 metres, but here the bastions are polygonal only. The single entrance is through a sequence of three gates at the north-east corner (Fig. 15). As at Kalyana, the inner circuit of walls is a later addition of the Adil Shahis.

Parenda, 100 kilometres north-west of Sholapur, repeats this quadrangular scheme, though on a reduced scale. The fort, which dates from the period of Mahmud Gawan in the second half of the fifteenth century, is one of the best-preserved specimens of Bahmani military architecture (Fig. 16). It consists of two lines of ramparts with box-like machicolations, both topped with crenellated parapets with loopholes. The outer lower walls have polygonal bastions, arranged in



15 Entry gate, Sholapur, fifteenth century

pairs at the corners; the inner higher walls display contrasting round bastions. The main gate at the north-east corner consists of a sequence of three arched entrances with intermediate courts. The outermost entrance protrudes into the moat, where there would have been a drawbridge. Among the dilapidated features inside the Parenda fort are a Jami mosque, an armoury and a hammam with a single domed chamber. A ruined structure with a raised floor level may have been a columned hall facing north into an open court.

Strategically, one of the important citadels for the Bahmanis was Raichur, 120 kilometres due south of Gulbarga, on the edge of the territory disputed with Vijayanagara. Originally an outpost of the Kakatiyas, Raichur was greatly enlarged under the Bahmanis, who encased the earlier circuit of walls within an irregular quadrangle of ramparts reinforced with round bastions. Gates set into both earlier and later forts display typical Bahmani features such as lintel-topped openings surmounted by flattish arched recesses and battlemented parapets. The Naurang gate, which provides access to Raichur from the north, is provided with a spacious court surrounded by arcades. Projecting guard rooms flanking the entrances on the east and north are carried on brackets sculpted as squatting lions. (Granite blocks carved with Hindu mythological figures and decorative motifs were added when the fort was temporarily occupied by Vijayanagara.)

16 Fort walls, Parenda, fifteenth century

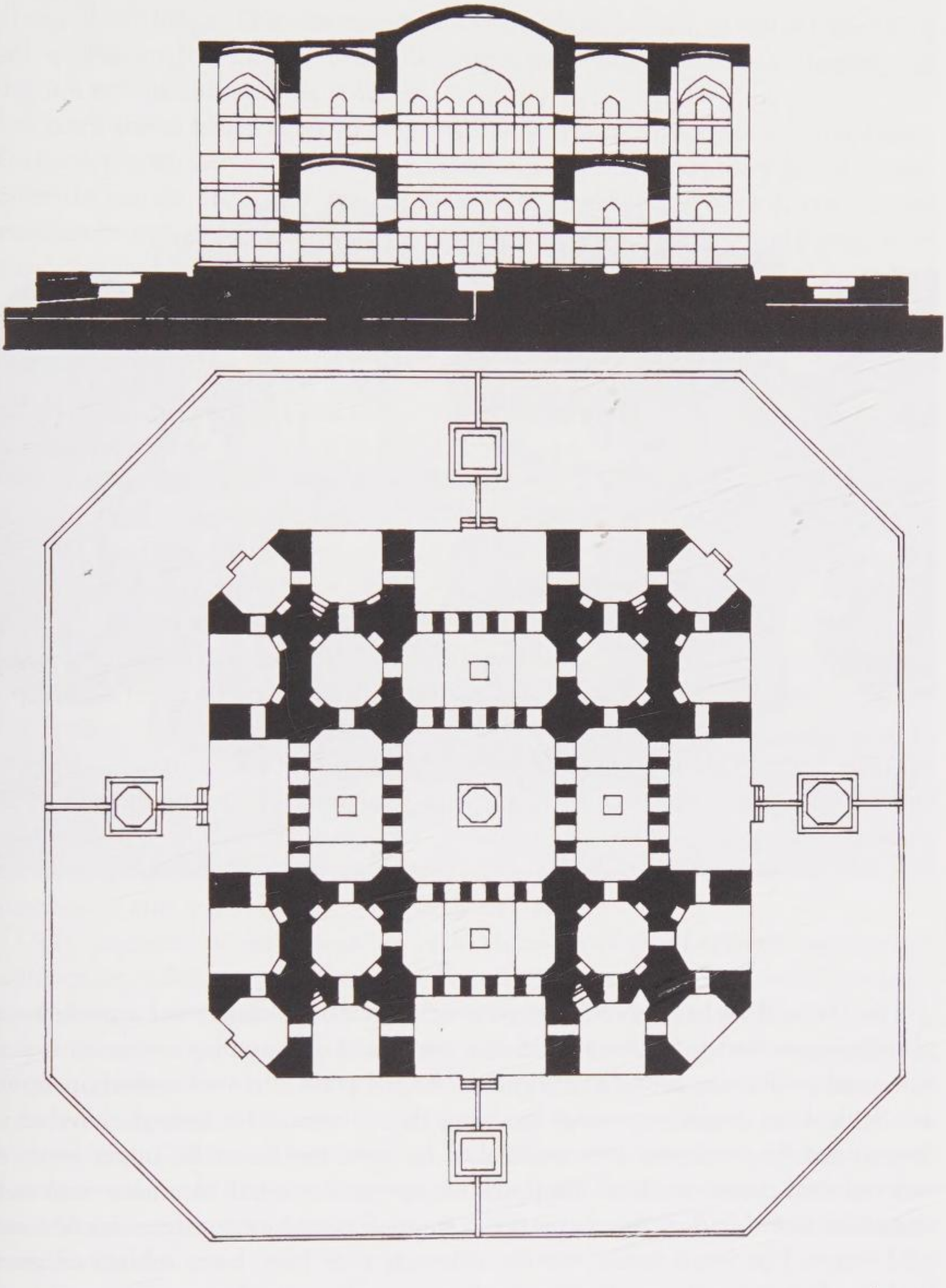
Further examples of military architecture survive on the frontiers of the Bahmani kingdom. The mountain strongholds of Purandhar and Shivneri on the eastern fringe of the Sahyadris, more than 300 kilometres west of Bidar, were both fortified under the Bahmanis; so too the citadels at Gavilgad and Narnala in the Satpura range in Berar, even further away. The irregular shapes of all mountain strongholds

are explained by the natural formations of their sites, with ramparts hugging the edges of cliffs. Round bastions and square crenellations are generally preferred. The fort at Narnala is entered through three elaborate gates on the south side. The Mahakali gate, the outermost of this sequence, was erected in 1487 by Fathullah Imad Shah shortly before his declaration of independence from Bidar. It is decorated with carved panels of lotus designs and a parapet of trefoil-shaped battlements. Guard rooms at either side are lit by perforated stone windows set into projecting balconies.

THE NIZAM SHAHIS AND IMAD SHAHIS

On taking command of the northern territories of the splintered Bahmani kingdom, the Ahmadnagar sultans improved earlier citadels such as Daulatabad and Purandhar. However, the most elaborate Nizam Shahi project was the fort constructed at the new capital of Ahmadnagar. The earthen ramparts thrown up by Ahmad Bahri in 1490 to protect his palace were replaced by stone walls in 1563. These create an almost perfect circle of walls, about 1,800 metres in diameter and 20 metres high, reinforced by twenty-two regularly placed round bastions. One example in the north-east quadrant exhibits triple lobes, presumably for additional strength. Rectangular openings at the tops of the walls are the original parapet indentations, filled in at the time of the first Mughal siege of Ahmadnagar in 1596. A moat 10 metres wide is shielded by an earthen mound that encircles it. A single bridge on the west side leads to a large half-circular barbican containing two arched gates.

Inside Ahmadnagar fort only a single structure survives. Ahmad's residence consists of a formal reception hall, some 30 metres long, roofed with a sequence of domes, much restored in later times. More impressive are the courtly buildings on the periphery of the city. Farah Bagh, 4 kilometres south, is the centrepiece of a grandiose complex completed in 1583 (Figs. 17 and 18). The central building is purely Iranian in spirit, though grander than any comparable structure in Iran, testifying to the close links that existed with the Middle East at this time. Its layout and symmetrical elevations, dominated by double-height portals on four sides, anticipate by almost fifty years the Taj Mahal at Agra, though without the crowning domes. The two-storeyed structure stands in the middle of a square pool, approached from the north by a causeway 72 metres long. The plan of the building, an irregular octagon almost 40 metres across, conforms to a well-known Iranian scheme. Façades on four sides display double-height arched portals flanked by tiers of smaller arched recesses, repeated on the angled corner faces. Both portals and recesses have half domes plastered with multiple facets. Interior chambers with similar vaults at both levels open on to or look down into the central chamber. This is roofed with a lotus dome rising some 18 metres above an octagonal fountain set into the plaster floor.



17 Plan and section of Farah Bagh, Ahmadnagar, 1583

18 Farah Bagh

The Hayat Behisht Bagh, 6 kilometres north of Ahmadnagar, was intended as a pleasure resort for the Nizam Shahis. The nucleus of the complex is a two-storeyed octagonal pavilion standing in a similarly shaped pond. Pointed arched openings are flanked by smaller openings bridging the corners. The central chamber is surrounded by an arcade and overlooked by windows from the upper level. A monumental portal south of the pond incorporates a small hammam with two chambers roofed with perforated vaults; adjoining rooms have cisterns for hot and cold water. Flat brick vaults survive although they have been robbed of their timbers. About 500 metres further south is an underground water palace with an unusual badgir, or wind tower, the only example known in the Deccan. This typically Iranian feature consists of a chimney-like tower with angled vents at the top. These catch the breeze that cools the subterranean domed chambers arranged around a rectangular pond. Earthenware pipes set into mortar indicate the extensive water system with which the palace, and indeed the whole city, was provided in

Nizam Shahi times. This scheme utilises channels that conduct water from dams and springs in the surrounding hills. Masonry ventilation towers regulate the pressure so that the water flows freely.

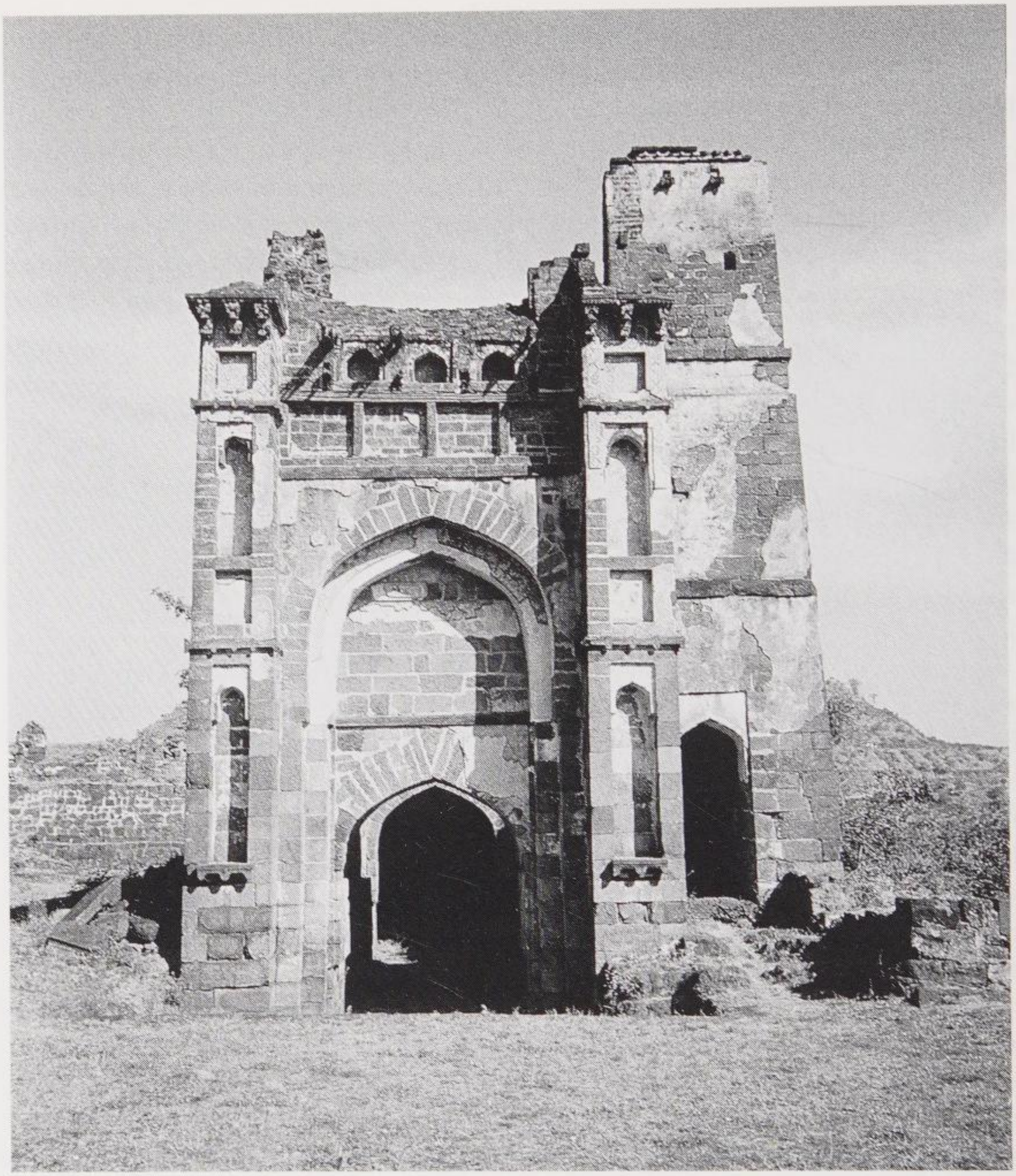
A comparable programme of water works is still in operation at Aurangabad. This city, 15 kilometres south of Daulatabad, was founded in 1610 by Malik Ambar under the name of Khirki. It is supplied by water transported from distant springs and wells by means of an extensive network of aqueducts, channels and pipes. Some of the channels are more than 4 kilometres long and are partly cut into the rock and roofed with masonry, a technique of water management imported from Iran to the Deccan. As at Ahmadnagar, water is regulated by ventilation towers. Panchakki, the water mill that stands beside the Kham river on the western flank of Aurangabad, has a tower of this type. Water falling from an elevated cistern drives a large wheel for grinding grain. Among the surviving examples of Malik Ambar's building activity at Aurangabad is the Bhadkal gate of 1616. This free-standing structure displays tiers of shallow arched recesses with medallion-on-bracket motifs in the spandrels. The interior passageway is roofed by a dome supported on eight intersecting arches.

Daulatabad served as the governmental seat of the Nizam Shahis after Ahmadnagar was temporarily lost to the Mughals in 1601 and several structures here may be assigned to this period. Among the crumbling palace buildings within Balakot stands the Chini Mahal, so called because of the traces of blue and white tiles set into its façade (Fig. 19). The pavilion presents superimposed arched openings between tapering buttresses divided into shallow niches. The eaves and gallery running along the top of the façade have mostly fallen. The interior comprises a double-height hall roofed with transverse arches and flanked on one side by arcaded chambers at two levels.

Only fragmentary indications are available of Imad Shahi military and courtly architecture. Achalpur, previously known as Ellichpur, is almost devoid of monuments assigned to this epoch. One surviving city gate has a lobed profile framing the arched entrance; surrounding panels show arched recesses and carved medallions. Of greater interest is Hauz Katora, 3 kilometres west of Achalpur. The centrepiece of this ruined palace is a three-storeyed octagonal tower standing in the middle of a circular pond. This has arched openings on all sides, with two superimposed domed chambers within. Achalpur was never adequately defended; in times of warfare the Imad Shahis retreated to the nearby forts of Gavilgad and Narnala, both Bahmani foundations.

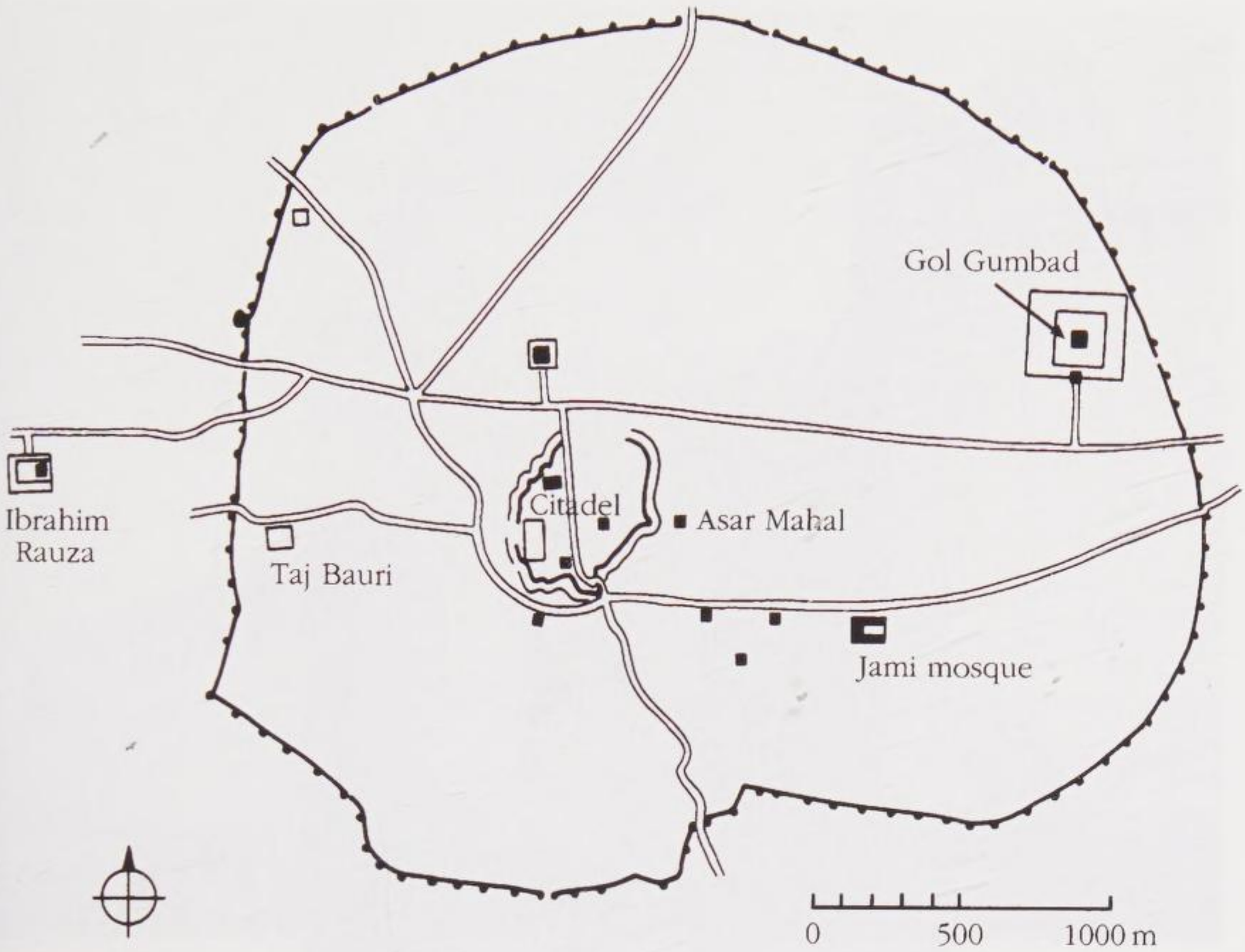
THE ADIL SHAHIS

It was only after Yusuf Adil Khan declared himself independent that Bijapur assumed any importance. The rings of fortifications begun by Yusuf and completed by Ali I in about 1565 define two concentric zones, with the citadel in the middle,



19 Chini Mahal, Daulatabad, sixteenth century

some 400 metres in circumference, contained within the city (Fig. 20). The greater east–west axis of this configuration stretches to over 3 kilometres. This preference for circular layouts was maintained in later times when Ibrahim II gave orders for the twin city of Nauraspur to be laid out at a site 3 kilometres to the west. The ramparts, begun in 1599 but never completed, define a ring of even greater dimensions than those of Bijapur (Fig. 21). Fortifications at both cities display sloping walls reaching to a height of about 10 metres, with round bastions,



20 Plan of citadel and city, Bijapur, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

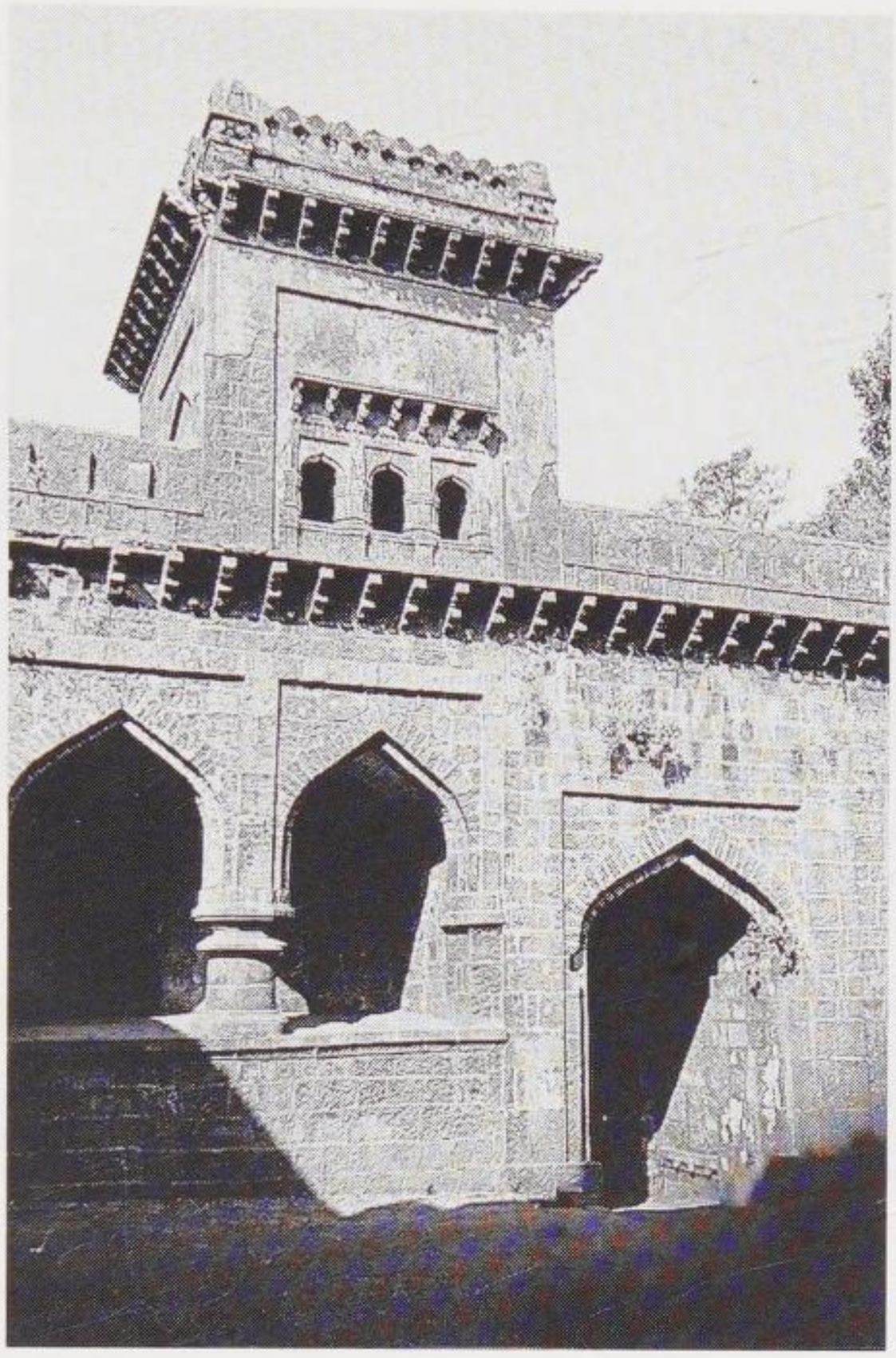
numbering ninety-six in the outer ring at Bijapur, topped with crenellations and interspersed with machicolations. Gates with lofty arched entrances are set between massive bastions and approached across bridges spanning ditches, now mostly filled in. The Shahpur gate in the north-west quadrant of Bijapur is bridged by a lintel carried on corbelled brackets and topped with a bold parapet of curved elements.

Analogous military works were undertaken by the Adil Shahis at other locations within their domains. They include the fort at Panhala, occupying an outlying spur of the Sahyadris, some 200 kilometres west of the capital. The ramparts of this stronghold define an approximately triangular zone that exploits the natural steepness of the rocky bluffs. A double gate with an arcaded court in between marks the principal entrance to the fort from the west side. The outer gate is surmounted by a chamber with arched windows overhung by ornate eaves (Fig. 22). The inner gate is entered from the court through a highly decorated doorway. This is bridged by a lintel set into an arched recess defined by both cusped and curving profiles. Finely etched relief patterns decorate the jambs and lintel (see chapter 4). (The plaster composition of Ganesha between lions set into the arch above is a later addition of the Marathas when they occupied Panhala.) Among the other Adil Shahi construc-

21 City walls, Bijapur, begun 1599

tions surviving at Panhala is the Sajji Koti, a small viewing pavilion on the east side of the fort. The upper chambers, with domes carried on faceted pendentives, have balconies projecting out over the ramparts. More impressive is the trio of granaries within the Bala Qila area. The largest example has sixteen bays, each roofed with a flattish vault with a square hole, separated by a single line of columns that runs the full length of the building. Steps within the walls ascend to roof level. The entrance at the east end of the granary is topped with a balconied domed chamber decorated with plaster vaulting in the finest Bijapur manner.

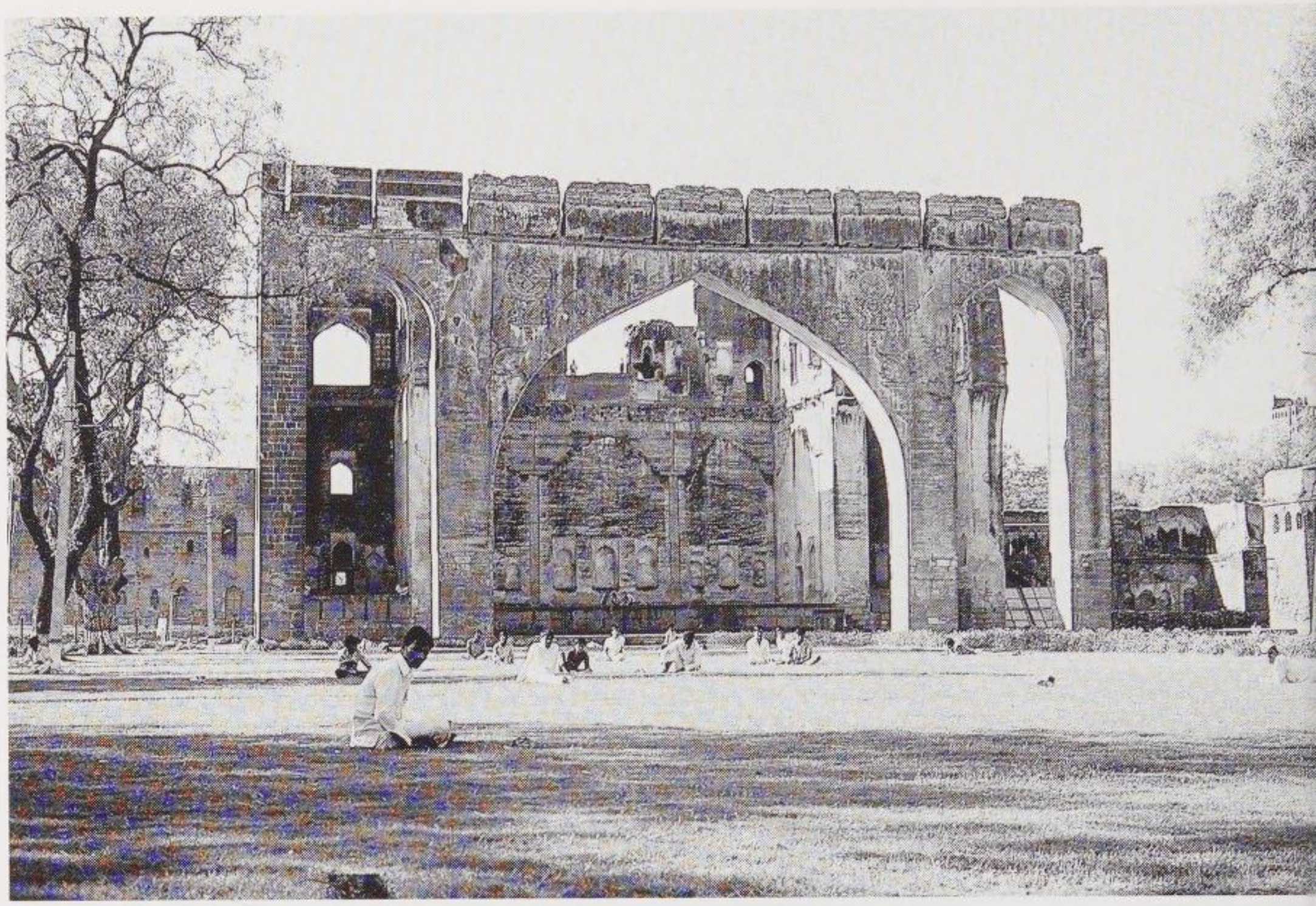
The Adil Shahi additions to the Bahmani fort at Sholapur have already been mentioned. Some 45 kilometres east of Sholapur is Naldurg, an Adil Shahi foundation. This occupies a basaltic bluff rising dramatically some 60 metres above a horseshoe-shaped bend in the Bori river. Angled walls with slit holes present a line of massive rounded bastions with guard rooms on top. Two bastions on the western flank take variant square and multi-lobed forms. A lookout at the northern extremity of the fort is built as an isolated circular bastion more than 30 metres in diameter; its summit is reached by a long flight of steps. The adjacent granary has rounded vaults which roof two long chambers. The fort is connected to a smaller outwork by a wall thrown across the river. This creates a dam to supply the Adil Shahi garrison with drinking water.



22 West gate, Panhala, mid-sixteenth century

Like the Nizam Shahis, the Adil Shahis were familiar with Middle Eastern systems of water management. A major channel flowing from Nauraspur to Bijapur, joined by others from nearby dams, fed the moat that runs around the citadel as well as a series of tanks and ponds. Water was conducted through partly rock-cut and vaulted aqueducts where it was regulated by regularly spaced ventilation towers. Water storage occasionally took on a monumental expression. The Taj Bauri and Chand Bauri, located just inside the Mecca and Shahpur gates respectively, consist of large square reservoirs overlooked by arcades. Flights of steps descending to the water in both examples are bridged by broad arches. The arch of Taj Bauri is buttressed by minaret-like towers capped with domical finials. The 750-metre-long dam at Shahpur, midway between Bijapur and Nauraspur, has a central sluice gate designed as an imposing portal with double-storeyed arcades.

The core of the palace complex within the Bijapur citadel is a spacious quadrangle surrounded by arcades, occupied today as in the past by administrative offices and judicial courts. The Chini Mahal to the south takes its name from the glazed tiles that were discovered in the vicinity. Its ceremonial hall 40 metres long is flanked by suites of rooms. The Sat Manzil at the north-west corner of the quadrangle preserves only four of its original seven arcaded storeys. That this was a



23 Gagan Mahal, Bijapur, mid-sixteenth century

pleasure pavilion is suggested by water basins and traces of murals (see chapter 4). Immediately north is the Jal Mandir, a diminutive but exquisitely detailed pavilion standing in the middle of a small pond. Its ornate brackets, eaves, parapet, finials and dome recall the more elaborate religious structures of the era. The Gagan Mahal, a short distance further north, is an imposing audience hall of the period of Ali I (Fig. 23). It presents a lofty central arch flanked by two smaller arches facing an open area intended for public assemblies. The Anand Mahal to the east and a ruinous structure at Nauraspur are of the same type, with characteristic triple-arched façades. Elephant stables and granaries are among the many decaying structures to be seen within the citadel.

Far the best-preserved Adil Shahi palace at Bijapur is the Asar Mahal east of the citadel walls. This is connected with the innermost zone by a bridge, only portions of which survive. Originally used as a hall of justice known as the Dad Mahal, the building was converted in 1646 into a sacred reliquary to house two hairs of the Prophet, thereby ensuring its preservation through the centuries. Its eastern front consists of a double-height portico with octagonal timber columns carrying a wooden panelled ceiling, probably all replacements. Chambers to the rear are arranged around halls on two levels. Portions of the murals with which the interior was furnished are preserved (see Colour Plate 12); so too the elaborate inlaid doors

and screens (represented in Fig. 133). The Jahaz Mahal, a decaying structure standing a short distance to the north, consists of arcaded chambers on two levels.

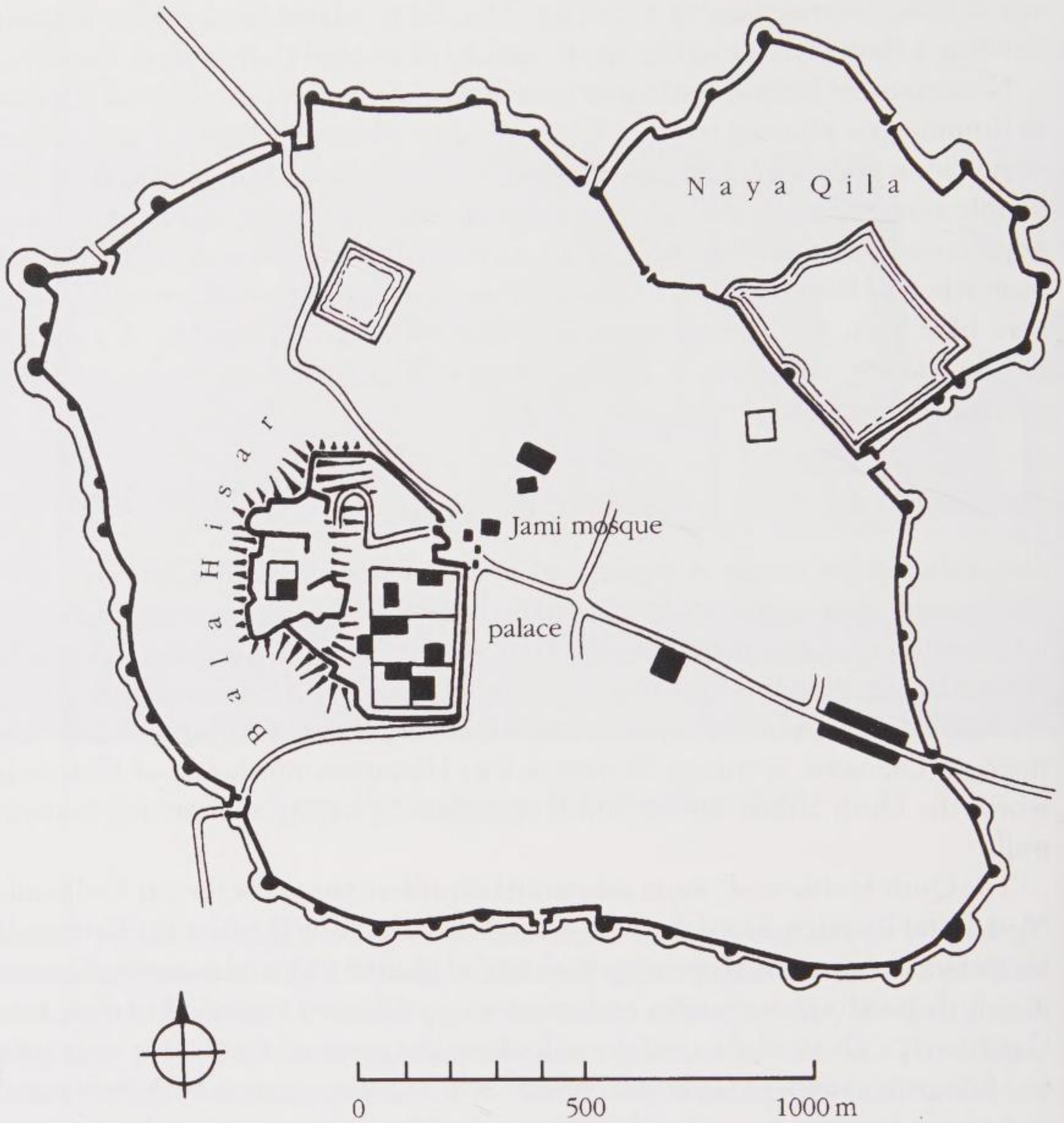
No account of Bijapur's palace architecture would be complete without reference to Kummatgi, a pleasure resort 16 kilometres east of the capital, where an ensemble of pavilions, tanks and cisterns overlooks a large lake. The focus of the complex is a double-storeyed tower with decorated vaults standing in the middle of a square pond crossed by a small bridge. Water was raised to a storage cistern on the roof from where it flowed downward through pipes set in the walls. Protruding spouts may have been for cooling sprays and sprinklers set into ceilings. A long low pavilion facing the tower is roofed with vaults carried on faceted pendentives covered with murals (see chapter 4).

THE QUTB SHAHIS

On assuming the eastern dominions of the former Bahmani kingdom, the Qutb Shahis came into conflict with the Reddi chiefs who occupied a string of forested hills about 250 kilometres south-east of Golconda. The principal Reddi strongholds at Kondapalle, Kondavidu, Vinukonda and Udayagiri were eventually secured by the Qutb Shahis, but the repairs that they made here are of little architectural interest. The same is true at Warangal, 140 kilometres north-east of Golconda, where the Qutb Shahis merely added crenellated parapets and curving barbican walls.

The Qutb Shahis made more substantial contributions to the forts at Koilkonda, Medak and Bhongir. The defensive gates erected in 1550 by Ibrahim I at Koilkonda, for instance, show arched openings with angled profiles and bold parapets. Remains of courtly buildings, magazines and granaries are scattered around all of these sites. Gandikota, a Qutb Shahi citadel overlooking the gorge of the Pennar river some 300 kilometres south of Golconda, preserves its massive ramparts with both square and round bastions topped with plaster-coated battlements pierced by slit holes. The main gate on the east has an austere arched entrance surrounded by a parapet enlivened by short finials. An unusual courtly pavilion stands within the fort. Its triple storeys are marked by horizontal cornices with arched openings in the middle of each side.

Undoubtedly the greatest achievement of the Qutb Shahis was their stronghold at Golconda, expanded under successive rulers, particularly Ibrahim I in the second half of the sixteenth century (Fig. 24). The formal layout of the city and its fortified palace can still be appreciated even though many of the buildings are now in ruins. The impact of Iranian urban traditions is best seen in the axial alignments of defensive gates, commercial streets, ceremonial portals and audience halls. These elements are distributed within a double series of concentric walls that ring a great rock, the Bala Hisar, rising 140 metres above the plain. The outer fort containing the city is delimited by broad ramparts creating an irregular circle of almost 5



24 Plan of fort and city, Golconda, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

kilometres. Round bastions reinforce tapering walls capped with lines of crenellations rising to an average height of 18 metres. The broad ditch on the outside is now mostly dry. The approximately quadrangular Naya Qila extension on the north-east, an addition of 1724, has a massive nine-cusped bastion jutting out of the defensive wall.

The Fateh gate on the east, through which the conquering Mughal army entered Golconda, is shielded by massive curving outworks commanded by projecting guard chambers carried on sculpted brackets. Similar chambers surmount the two entrances of the gate itself. The inner entrance retains its wooden doors with iron

cladding in geometric designs. Among the other entrances with similar defensive arrangements are the Moti gate in the north-east quadrant, the Mecca gate to the south-west and the Banjara gate to the north-west, the last leading to the royal necropolis (see chapter 3).

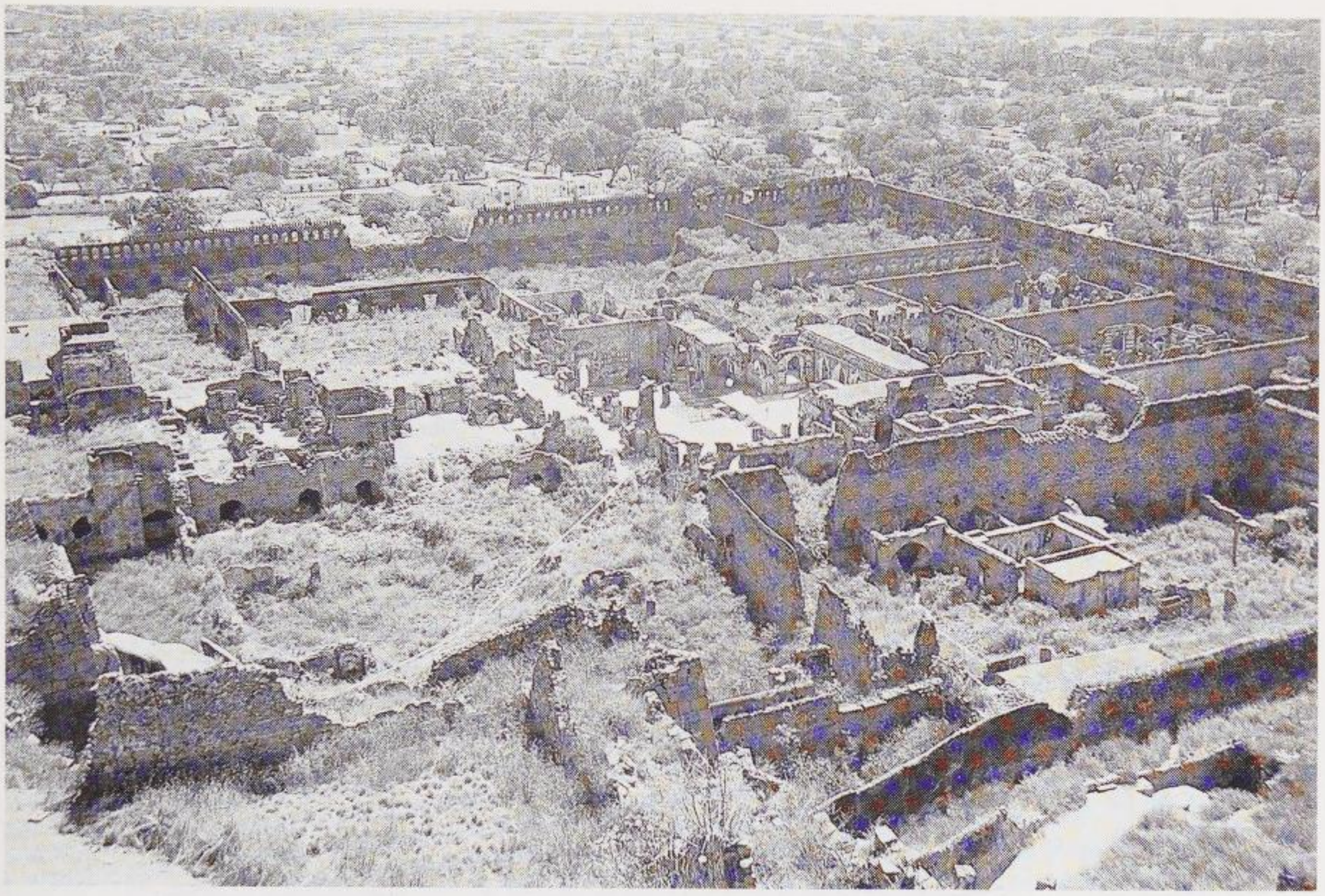
A bazaar street 300 metres long connects the Fateh gate with the second ring of fortifications that contains the Bala Hisar, or inner fort. Arcaded chambers lining the street, still used as shops and residences, served as the principal market of Golconda. Here stands the khazana, or royal treasury, its central court entered through an arched gate. The western extremity of the street is flanked by a pair of ceremonial portals, each with a dome carried on two walls and two open arches. Elaborately decorated plasterwork in the spandrels shows fantastic animals and birds, and also winged figures in pleated costumes. Immediately north of these portals stands the Jami mosque (see chapter 3). Among the dilapidated buildings in the vicinity is the Nau Mahal complex. This includes a long granary structure with sixteen bays, each roofed with a perforated flattish dome, exactly as at Panhala.

The Bala Hisar gate, the principal entrance to Golconda fort, is concealed by a detached barbican wall (Fig. 25). The entrance has a pointed arch enlivened with triple rows of foliate motifs; yalis and ornate medallions fill the spandrels. The composition is topped with three projecting guard chambers supported on curved brackets. The gate leads directly to a portico roofed with a flattish dome. The royal hammam immediately to the north comprises a complex of interconnecting chambers roofed with flattish domes. Gardens with axial waterways were once situated nearby. A road flanked by vaulted barracks, stores and other service structures proceeds west towards the stepped path that ascends to the summit of Bala Hisar. The Qutb Shahi palace to the south is now a labyrinth of fallen walls and vaults (Fig. 26). Even so, it is possible to make out a north–south linear sequence of vaulted chambers and high-walled enclosures that provides a transition from public to private zones.

The triple arcades of the Shilkhana, or armoury, dominate the first and outermost enclosure of the Golconda palace. The second enclosure is overlooked from the west by the Taramati mosque (see chapter 3). The Dad Mahal faces onto the eastern half of the enclosure. This comprises a nine-domed hall flanked by residential quarters with small chambers at either side. An arcade leads by way of a lofty audience hall, with transverse arches supporting heavy vaults and domes, to the third enclosure where the private zone of the palace begins. The paved court here has a twelve-sided pool in the middle and a part-octagonal chamber at the north-west corner. Residential apartments open to the east and west. On the south is the Rani Mahal; its raised terrace with wooden columns, now lost, leads into a triple-vaulted hall. Steps to the south descend to another hall, possibly for courtly assemblies, the vaults of which have collapsed leaving only the supporting piers. Beyond, at the lowest level, is the Shahi Mahal, the fourth and innermost enclosure. This consists of a small pavilion standing in the middle of a private garden. This

25 Bala Hisar gate, Golconda, sixteenth century

partly fallen structure has portals on four sides raised on a vaulted substructure. Additional residential apartments, now almost totally ruined, are situated to the east. A short distance to the west is a small mosque hidden from view by high walls, probably intended for the female members of the Qutb Shahi court.



26 Palace zone, Golconda, sixteenth century

Steps ascending to the summit of Bala Hisar pass through walls built of massive granite blocks set into natural boulders. The path is dotted with stores and granaries, and also a six-domed treasury with an inscription of 1624. Tanks and channels form part of a complicated system by which water was raised by wheels to the uppermost level of the citadel. The darbar hall occupies the highest point of the Bala Hisar. The lower level of the hall is divided into vaulted bays. A chamber with triple openings set into the rear walls was reserved for the sultan. The rooftop pavilion offers uninterrupted views of the palace below, as well as of the entire city and its surroundings.

As has already been noted in chapter 1, it was Muhammad Quli who took the decision to move the Qutb Shahi capital to a new site on the south bank of the Musi river, 8 kilometres east of Golconda. The plan of Hyderabad, which dates from 1591, shows even more obvious Persian influence than that of Golconda, judging from the symmetrical layout of bazaar streets, arched portals, open squares, gardens and fountains. Not unlike the Safavid capital of Isfahan, Hyderabad is dominated by two commercial thoroughfares intersecting at right angles. The crossing is marked by the Char Minar, the largest and most original architectural conception of the Qutb Shahis, and indeed of any of the Deccani sultans (Fig. 27). This splendid ceremonial structure, which continues to dominate the city, presents a quartet of imposing arched portals, each spanning more than 11 metres across.

27 Char Minar, Hyderabad, 1591

Arcaded storeys and geometric screens are positioned above. The four corner minarets, after which the monument is named, rise to an impressive height of 56 metres, including their domical finials. Spiral staircases within their shafts, opening onto triple tiers of balconies, ascend to the upper levels. These were used as a madrasa and a mosque from where public proclamations were read out. The rear wall of the mosque is indicated by blank niches framed by petalled ornament.

Hyderabad's formal layout extends north of the Char Minar.The four arched portals of the Char Kaman, erected in 1594, originally defined a great open square in front of the Qutb Shahi palace. This concept of formal space owes much to Timurid inspiration, as is indicated by the close resemblance of the Char Kaman to the Registan in Samarqand. The west arch at Hyderabad led directly to the parade grounds where Muhammad Quli reviewed his troops. Drummers were accommodated in an elevated chamber on the east arch. A portion of the octagonal cistern, the Gulzar Hauz, in the middle of the square is still to be seen, even though much of the square is now filled in with buildings. The complex also includes the Jami mosque (see chapter 3) at the south-east corner.

Immediately south of the Char Minar is the Mecca mosque, the largest in Hyderabad (see chapter 3), next to which is the rambling Chaumahalla palace associated with the later Asaf Jahis.

THE MUGHALS

Though the Mughals made only a limited contribution to military and palace architecture in the Deccan, they were responsible for introducing a fully developed style that was entirely new to the region. Typical features of Mughal courtly pavilions and fortified gates are broad arches with well-defined lobes, domes and vaults with intricately faceted decoration, open roof-top pavilions known as chhatris and bangla roofs with characteristic curving cornices and ridges.

In 1601 the Mughals occupied Burhanpur on the northern fringe of the Deccan. The city became the residence of Abd al-Rahim, the Khan-i Khanan, governor of Khandesh in the last years of Akbar and throughout much of the reign of Jahangir. He seems to have been active in furnishing Burhanpur with an adequate water supply. As in earlier Sultanate cities, the new hydraulic system employed subterranean channels to conduct water from the surrounding hills. The Khan-i Khanan was also responsible for laying out a series of gardens with large ponds. Though the locations of these gardens on the outskirts of the city have been identified, their precise layouts are unclear. Other civic works undertaken by the Khan-i Khanan at Burhanpur include a hammam dating from 1608. Only a portion of its complicated plan, with variously shaped halls opening off a central octagonal chamber, can now be made out. The building is remarkable for the plasterwork of its Iranian-style faceted vaults (see Fig. 80). This obviously Middle Eastern characteristic is explained by the architect who is known to have come from Khurasan.

Further evidence of Mughal building activities in the Deccan is to be seen at Daulatabad. The citadel fell to the Mughals in 1633, thereafter serving as their principal headquarters until the move to Aurangabad. Shah Jahan's palace, which survives only in an overgrown and dilapidated condition, is situated beneath the northern flank of Balakot. The complex focuses on two large courts. The inner court is conceived as a four-square garden with raised walkways surrounded by pavilions with cusped arcades. The apartment on the west has three interconnecting octagonal chambers roofed with flat vaults; arcaded verandahs at the rear overlook the rock-cut trench that surrounds the rock. Two brick-built hammams, both with perforated domes, form part of the complex. Another Mughal courtly structure at Daulatabad is the pavilion just beneath the summit of Balakot. Its part-octagonal balcony surveys the whole site. The hammam outside the fortified eastern entrance to Kataka has square and octagonal chambers roofed with flattish domes on faceted pendentives. Smaller cells in the corners are provided with baths.

In 1653 Aurangzeb chose Aurangabad as the base for his Deccan campaigns. The Qila Arak, his imperial residence, was laid out three years later on an eminence in the northern part of the city. The walled zone is entered on the south through the Naubat gate, aligned with the earlier Jami mosque (see chapter 3). Aurangzeb's private pavilion (now incorporated into a Government School of Art) has a central chamber roofed with a bangla vault flanked by small pyramidal vaults. The building stands in the middle of a terraced garden with formal ponds and fountains. Among the other Mughal residences at Aurangabad is the Sunahri Mahal in the Begampuri district, north of the city walls. This is the work of a Rajput officer who accompanied Aurangzeb into the Deccan. Arched openings in its double-storeyed façade, now stripped of all decorative features, face east onto a spacious walled compound. Little is left of the golden tinted murals which give their name to the building.

It was only after the Maratha raid on Aurangabad in 1668 that Khan Jahan Bahadur, governor at the time, decided to erect stone walls around the city. The fortifications, 4.5 metres high with crenellated parapets and slit holes, are reinforced with round bastions, some with towers. Gates on four sides display imposing arched openings surmounted by prominent battlements. Entrances are flanked by polygonal bastions topped with domed chhatris in the mature Mughal style. Similar but smaller gateways were erected by Aurangzeb at nearby Khuldabad.

Among the projects executed by Aurangzeb's generals at the lesser centres is the Farah Bagh south-east of the fort at Bidar. This dilapidated pleasure garden dating from 1672 extends up to a spring at the the foot of a wooded hill. It consists of three terraces provided with cisterns and cascades.

Mughal architecture in the Deccan by no means came to an end with Aurangzeb. An idea of later activity may be had from the fortifications at Ajanta, a small settlement some 100 kilometres north-east of Aurangabad, a short distance from the celebrated Buddhist caves. In 1730 Nizam al-Mulk added a square of crenellated

walls reinforced by polygonal bastions. The south gate is approached by crossing an arched bridge. The octagonal sarai outside the north gate belongs to the same period. Other works undertaken by Nizam al-Mulk include the ramparts of Burhanpur constructed in 1728. The finely finished walls overlooking the Tapti are strengthened by prominent round bastions topped with a line of battlements. Gateways display broad arches flanked by towers capped with bangla pavilions. The towers on one example are enlivened with projecting niches containing cusped arches; angled tiled roofs in shallow relief are seen above. The Ahukhana on the other side of the Tapti near Burhanpur may also date from Nizam al-Mulk's era. This walled complex, now devoid of its original gardens and ponds, is dominated by a central square pavilion built according to the Iranian baradari scheme, with triple-arched openings in the middle of four sides. Another structure within the complex combines double bangla vaults with pairs of fluted domes. The corners are emphasised by finials that recall the minarets of mosques dating from the earlier Faruqi era (see chapter 3).

SHIVAJI

Under the Marathas the art of warfare was developed into sophisticated science. The *Ajnapatra*, a textbook on martial tactics and fort building credited to Shivaji's son, Sambhaji, incorporates a body of knowledge that had accumulated during the brief but brilliant career of Shivaji. The military successes of this figure and his descendants against the much larger but more cumbersome Mughal forces owed much to their imaginative exploitation of the rugged mountainous terrain on the western fringe of the Deccan plateau. Shivaji captured a number of citadels established in earlier times and refurbished them for his own use; he also created several new strongholds. In these tasks he was much aided by his commander Moropanth Pingle. The result was an impregnable line of hill forts running for almost 250 kilometres along the outer ridges of the Sahyadri ranges.

Rajgad was Shivaji's first seat of government, serving as his principal headquarters from 1646 to 1672. The citadel occupies a triple-pronged hill, rising 1,317 metres above sea level, with sheer drops on all sides (Fig. 28). Moropanth Pringle built the fortifications that cling to the cliffs, following the edges in continuous undulations. The walls are doubled, with trenches in between, and this provided additional security at the far ends of the three long spurs that fan outwards from the middle of the fort. Round bastions occur irregularly, some with internal staircases descending to outworks at their bases. An arched gate on the north gives access to the northern spur, where the remains of columned halls, stores and granaries can still be made out. The Bala Qila occupies the triangular rise in the middle of the fort. It is entered on the east side through a pointed arch surrounded by decorated panels and flanked by polygonal bastions. The level top is occupied by rock-cut cisterns and the overgrown ruins of Shivaji's residence. All that can now be seen of

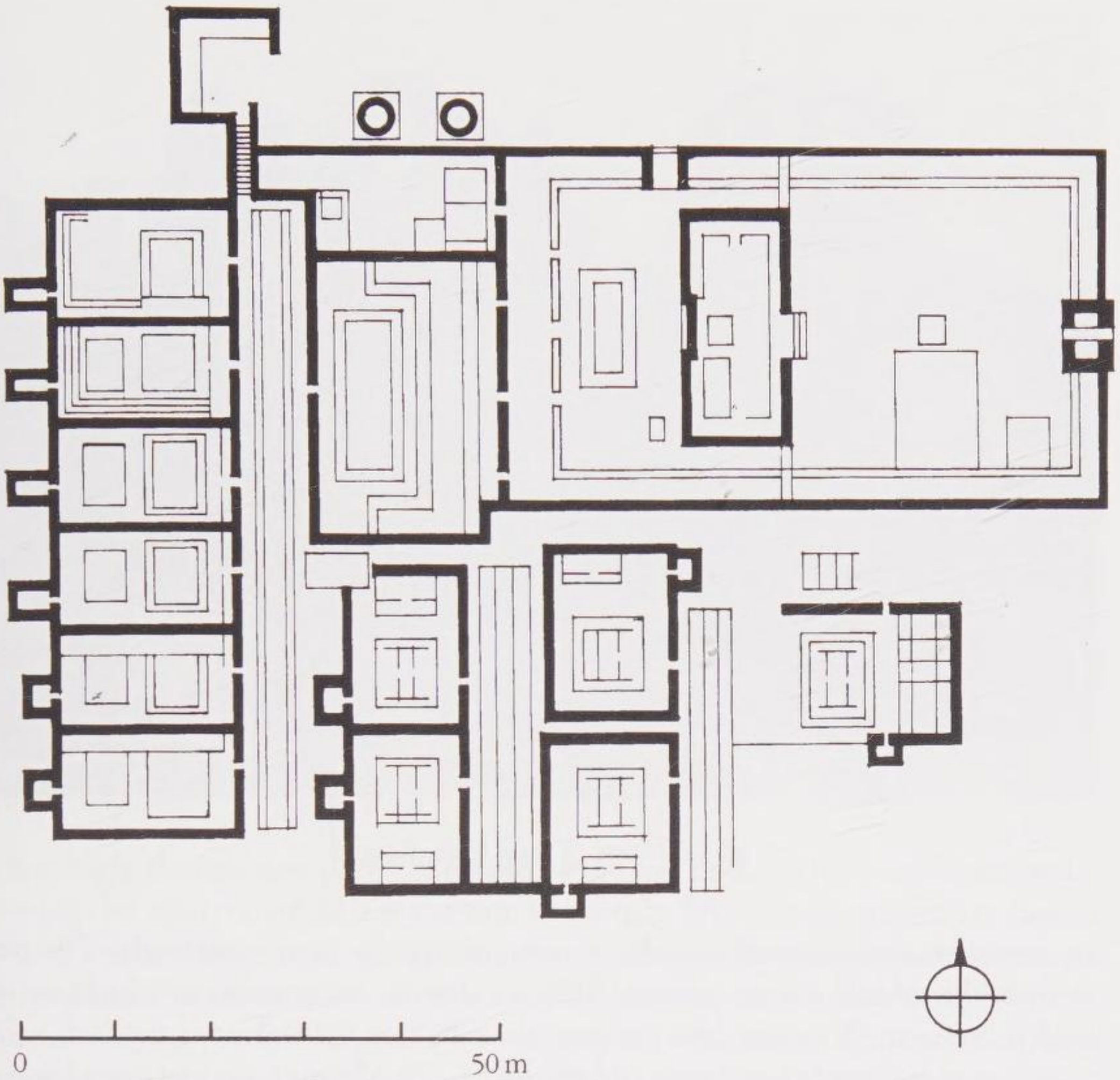
28 Fortifications, Rajgad, seventeenth century

the walled palace is a sequence of rectangular structures, each with a verandah leading to a long chamber.

Pratapgad, 30 kilometres south of Rajgad, guards an important pass descending to the Konkan. This hill, fortified in 1656, was the scene of Shivaji's treacherous encounter with Afzal Khan, commander of the Bijapur army. Like Rajgad, the ramparts at Pratapgad follow the curving lines of the escarpment, creating lower and upper forts. Bastions and towers are mostly rounded.

Some 45 kilometres north-west of Pratapgad is Raigad, Shivaji's capital from 1672 onwards and the site of his coronation two years later. Continuous walls are not required because of the sheer escarpments with which the hill is ringed. The fortifications were added by Shivaji after he occupied the site in 1656. Massive cubic blocks of basalt laid without any mortar are reinforced by round bastions. Walls between closely spaced bastions both shield the jagged north-western promontory of the hill and protect the entrance on the eastern flank. This gate is concealed by extended bastions that curve outwards, a characteristic of Shivaji's fortification. Sculpted lotus medallions and lions grasping diminutive elephants fill the spandrels of the arch above the entrance.

Architectural features of unusual interest extend over the comparatively level top of Raigad fort. The Bala Qila to the south served as Shivaji's residential and



29 Plan of Bala Qila, Raigad, seventeenth century

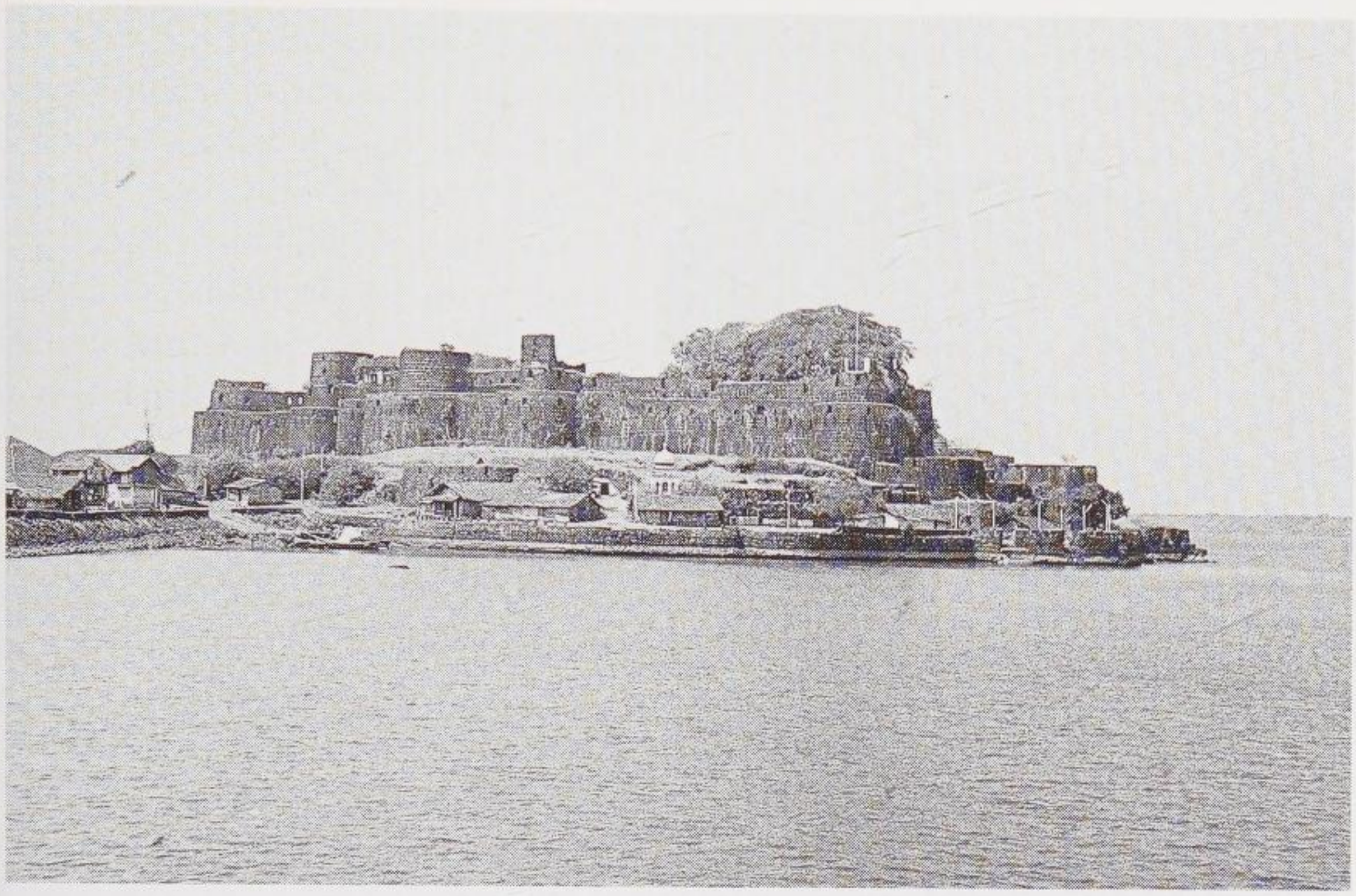
ceremonial headquarters (Fig. 29). The formal planning of this walled complex is still apparent, even though the wooden and brick portions of the various structures have vanished. Access to the Bala Qila from the north is announced by a pair of twelve-sided towers with multiple tiers of arched openings free-standing outside the walls (Fig. 30). An arched gate leads to a long flight of steps which ascends to a walled passageway. Doorways in the west wall lead to six walled compounds with associated storage areas, identified as residences of the female members of Shivaji's court. Officers were accommodated in a zone at a lower level to the east of the passageway. There are five discrete suites, each with a rectangular chamber standing in the middle of a square walled compound.

The enclosure at a higher level east of the passageway constitutes the ceremonial core of the Bala Qila at Raigad. Stone foundations of columned halls are aligned on

30 Towers of Bala Qila, Raigad

an east–west axis, with colonnades running along the peripheral walls. The platform in the middle once supported Shivaji's throne, the remains of which are still held in honour. (The cast-iron pavilion that shelters the throne is modern.) Side buildings functioned as granaries and treasuries. The throne faces east onto a square court with a fountain in the middle. The house of justice is located on the south. The gate in the middle of the east side of the court serves as an imposing entrance to the whole complex. Its lofty arched opening has sculpted panels in the spandrels showing lions crushing elephants. The interior passageway is roofed with a corbelled vault. Nothing survives of the upper gallery. A path leads from this gate to a broad bazaar with two lines of twenty-two shops, each a suite of three small chambers. These face each other across a north–south street some 12 metres broad. The octagonal plinth which served as Shivaji's cremation site lies beyond the Jagadishvara temple to the north-east (see Fig. 186).

An important factor in Shivaji's strategy of expansion was to control the Arabian Sea trade by developing stategic ports and equipping them with fleets of ships. In 1665 Shivaji chose an island offshore from Malvan, some 240 kilometres south of Raigad, as his coastal headquarters. Three years were required to complete the walls of Sindhudurg, the name which Shivaji gave to the new fort. Even Portuguese experts are reputed to have been employed in the works. The fortifications, which follow the irregular indentations of the island, are 4 metres thick and up to 10



31 Vijayadurg, seventeenth century

metres high, though now partly damaged by the sea. Both slit holes and rectangular openings for cannon are seen at the top. More than fifty round bastions are carried up as free-standing towers with prominent openings. The single entrance to the fortified island at the north-east corner is protected by curving outworks similar to those already noticed at Raigad. The doorway is bridged by a lintel set within an arched recess; the interior of the gate is roofed by vaults and a single dome.

In 1669 Shivaji took over the Adil Shahi settlement at Vijayadurg, 65 kilometres north of Sindhudurg, finest of all deep-water harbours on the Maharashtra coast. Vijayadurg assumed a crucial significance in Shivaji's naval attacks on the Sidis of Janjira. The fort, which occupies a rocky promontory forming the west side of a bay at the mouth of Vaghotan creek, is joined to the mainland on the south by a narrow neck of land. The promontory is reinforced by two irregular concentric circles of massive walls, with a third line of walls being added for additional protection on the landward side (Fig. 31). The walls are of massive construction, with large round bastions, most of which have withstood the eroding effects of the ocean. The inner circuit of walls, complete with twenty towers, rises to a height of 36 metres. Broad walkways on the top provide access to rectangular or semi-circular headed openings and to angled slit holes for cannon. The main entrance to the fort is approached through curving outworks typical of Shivaji's period. These are reached only after passing across a moat that cuts through the neck of land. Direct access from the ocean is possible from a nearby landing. A stepped path running between two curving lines of walls leads to the inner gate of the fort. Decaying structures of

32 Ramparts, Janjira, 1707

various periods stand inside. They include a vaulted magazine entered through a multi-lobed doorway and a barrel-vaulted granary divided into four chambers. The largest feature is a two-storeyed structure with rectangular windows, possibly a barracks block, now missing its timber floor and roof.

Suvarnadurg, about 125 kilometres north of Vijayadurg, is another of Shivaji's maritime forts, later serving as a naval station of the Angres. Like Sindhudurg, Suvarnadurg is completely contained by walls running around the irregular shore of the island. Residences and magazines inside the fort are now much ruined.

THE SIDIS AND ANGRES

After the fall of the Bijapur kingdom the Sidis ruled independently from their island home of Janjira. The architecture of this marine stronghold, the finest on the Arabian Sea coast, is roughly contemporary with the forts of Shivaji's period. The massive walls that follow the irregular outlines of Janjira island, rising 15 metres vertically out of the sea, were begun in 1694 and completed in 1707 by Sirul Khan (Fig. 32). They show battlements with angled tops alternating with arched openings for cannon. Round bastions punctuate the walls at more or less regular intervals. Lead is used in the joints between the basalt blocks to counter the corrosive effects of the sea water.

Janjira fort is entered through a single gate on the north side. Its arched opening is surmounted by a frieze of battlements flanked by sculpted lions; the guard room above has a balcony carried on lotus brackets. Steps ascend to a domed chamber, the side walls of which have carved panels showing lions grasping diminutive elephants. Crumbling buildings within the fort are distributed around two large tanks, one elliptical, the other circular, partly excavated out of the rock. They include a small mosque as well as residences, stores and magazines. The ensemble is dominated by the four-storeyed audience hall, the façade of which has prominent cornices that run across shallow square corner towers. Doorways in the middle of each side have cusped arches with lotus medallions in the spandrels; rows of arched windows above repeat the same motifs.

The island citadel of Kolaba some 100 kilometres north of Janjira was established in 1720 by Kanhoji Angre, the Maratha admiral and pirate. Kolaba occupies a narrow rock in the middle of Alibag harbour, some 250 metres offshore. It consists of a quadrangular arrangement of walls reinforced with seventeen round towers. The main entrance at the north-east corner is shielded by an outwork reached by a long causeway. The pointed arched opening is flanked by rounded towers. Domed storerooms and animal stables stand inside, as well as a granary and two dilapidated residences.

THE PESHWAS

Under Shivaji's descendants the centre of Maratha power shifted from the hills to the plains. Pune, situated little more than 50 kilometres directly north-east of Rajgad, became the principal headquarters of Maratha power in 1727, during the period of the second peshwa, Bajirao I. The Shanwar Wada which stands in the middle of the city is a rectangular fort, some 170 by 150 metres in dimensions. Formidable walls of mixed stone and brick construction are strengthened by prominent round bastions at the corners and in the middle of three sides. Contrasting polygonal bastions flank the north Delhi gate which overlooks an extensive parade ground. Its arched entrance is surmounted by a gallery with wooden arcades and a tiled roof. The palace that occupied the interior of Shanwar Wada was destroyed by fire in 1808, leaving only the masonry foundations of columned halls and passageways and the stone outlines of water channels and ponds of various shapes. Many of these features are disposed symmetrically along a north–south axis. The core of the complex consists of a sequence of three courts at ascending levels: the first comprises a garden with four-square plots and central ponds either side of a pathway; the second is surrounded by elevated colonnades on four sides; the third has a large square tank in the middle. A formal pond with lotus-shaped plots for planting on the east side of the complex is overlooked by an arcaded gallery set into the outer walls. Smaller polygonal and elliptical ponds are situated on the west side, in the vicinity of service structures with brick-built channels and vent holes.

An idea of the original appearance of the Shanwar Wada may be had from the Peshwa residence at Satara, 140 kilometres south of Pune. Virtually nothing remains here from the period of Rajaram and Shahu, both of whom made this city the capital of the expanding Maratha kingdom. The so-called New Palace dates only from after 1818, thereby falling outside the scope of the present study. Even so, its timber and brick construction with arcades surrounding a sequence of interior courts, and its open hall for public ceremonies and enclosed hall for private meetings, are all features that would have been present in the Shanwar Wada.

Similar but smaller residences belonging to the eighteenth century still stand in the old city of Pune. They display multi-storeyed timber frameworks with brick infill roofed with sloping tiles. The mansions are laid out with single or double internal courts. The influence of Mughal design is evident in the galleries with cusped arcades and the decorative patterns of the woodwork. Gardens with water channels and ponds occupy the larger courts. A comparable group of mansions is seen at Sasvad, 30 kilometres south of Pune, ancestral home of Balaji Vishvanath, the first peshwa. Here the residences are surrounded by high walls with rounded corners, entered through arched portals. (Temples of the same period make use of identical walled compounds and gates; see chapter 8.) Brick buildings within have finely worked timber columns and beams, now in a state of decay.

CHAPTER 3

MOSQUES AND TOMBS

The large number of relatively well-preserved mosques and tombs contrasts markedly with the dilapidation of the forts and palaces noted in chapter 2. Apart from the usual array of Jami mosques and lesser places of prayer in the principal cities of the Deccan, there is also an impressive series of tombs. Personal ambition on the part of sultans, their ministers and commanders accounts for a funerary tradition that often represents the finest architectural achievements of the period. Nowhere is this better demonstrated than at Bijapur and Aurangabad where royal mausoleums were conceived on the grandest possible scale. The direct involvement of patrons in such projects is almost always recorded on the monuments, with the result that religious architecture presents a relatively clear chronological pattern.

A characteristic feature of Deccan culture during these centuries is the abundance of saintly personalities, especially members of the Chishti and Naqshbandi orders, who gained status as spiritual advisors to the sultans and their families. The dargahs of the most important holy figures, originally financed by royal bequests, have been maintained through the centuries as popular places of worship and are active today. They continue to attract large crowds of pilgrims on the occasions of the Urs festivities celebrating the death anniversaries of the saints.

KHALJIS AND TUGHLUQS

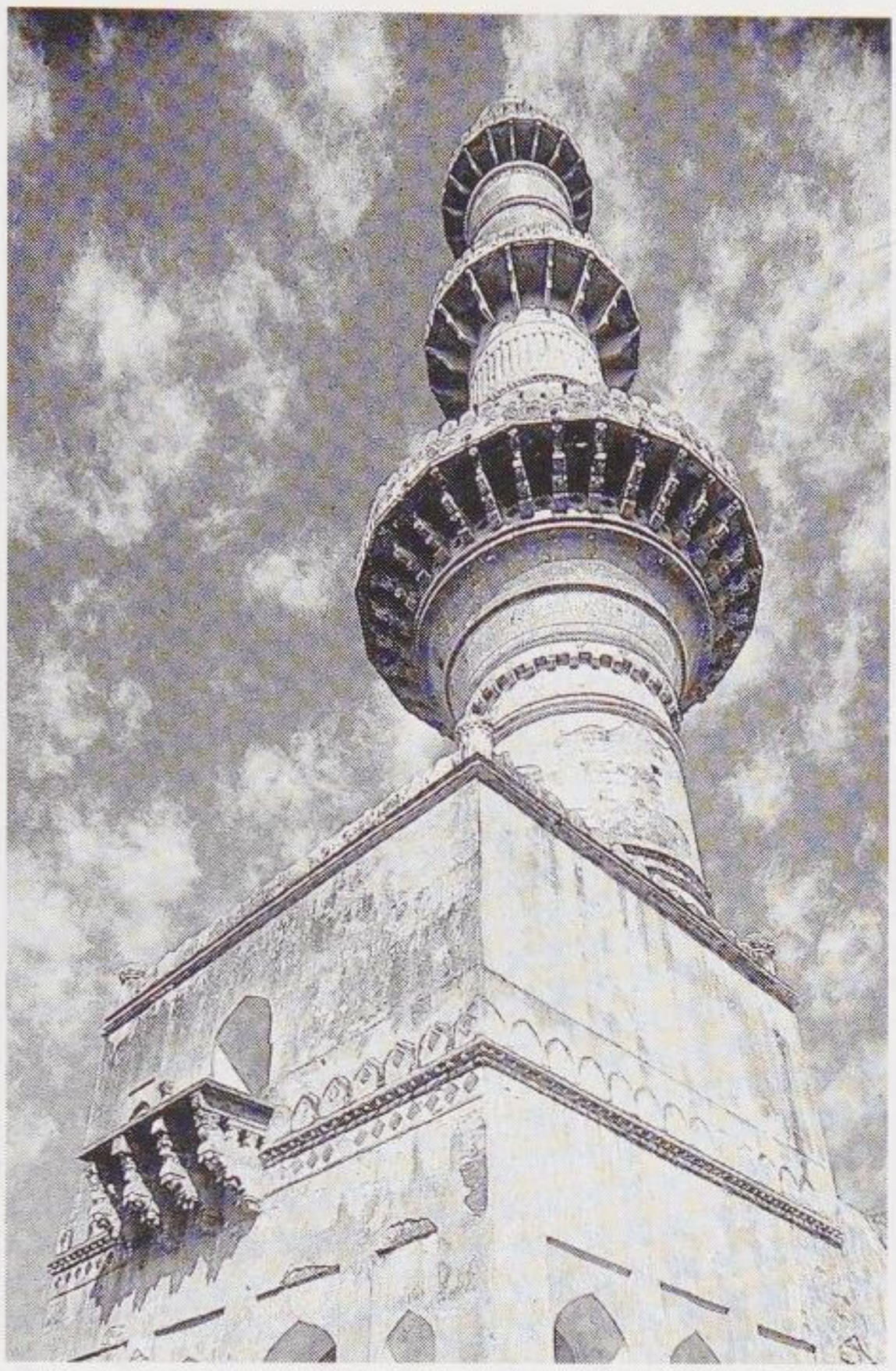
The first mosques in the Deccan are assigned to the years following Malik Kafur's invasion. These hastily conceived projects rely on earlier traditions in Delhi where large courts with domed entrance chambers led to long prayer halls divided into regular bays by columned aisles. The use of arched portals to articulate the principal façade of the prayer chamber at Daulatabad was doubtless inspired by the arched screen wall erected in front of the prayer chamber of the Quwwat-al Islam mosque. The great Qutb Minar which stands near to this Delhi monument probably also served as the model for the Chand Minar at Daulatabad, similarly a detached structure. Both minarets were intended as victory towers, proclaiming the triumph of Islam in newly conquered territories.

Karimuddin's mosque inside the Bijapur citadel is the earliest in the Deccan. Dating from 1310, it is built entirely of robbed temple columns and beams, reassembled to create a long flat-roofed hall. In the middle of the hall is a raised ceiling serving as a clerestory. The Jami mosque of Kataka, the intermediate fort at Daulatabad, was erected in 1318. Its vast rectangular court, some 80 by 60 metres,

33 Interior of Jami mosque, Daulatabad, 1318

the largest in this part of India, is entered on three sides through domed chambers with unadorned sloping walls. The spacious prayer hall has a columned façade interrupted by four arched portals, an unusual scheme not to be repeated in later times. Behind the façade is a columned hall with twenty-five aisles, each five bays deep, roofed with shallow domes (Fig. 33). An enlarged dome on twelve columns rises over the bays in front of the central mihrab in the rear wall. Though many columns have stylised floral and figural designs carved on their shafts, they were not all removed from dismantled temples; some were carved expressly for this building.

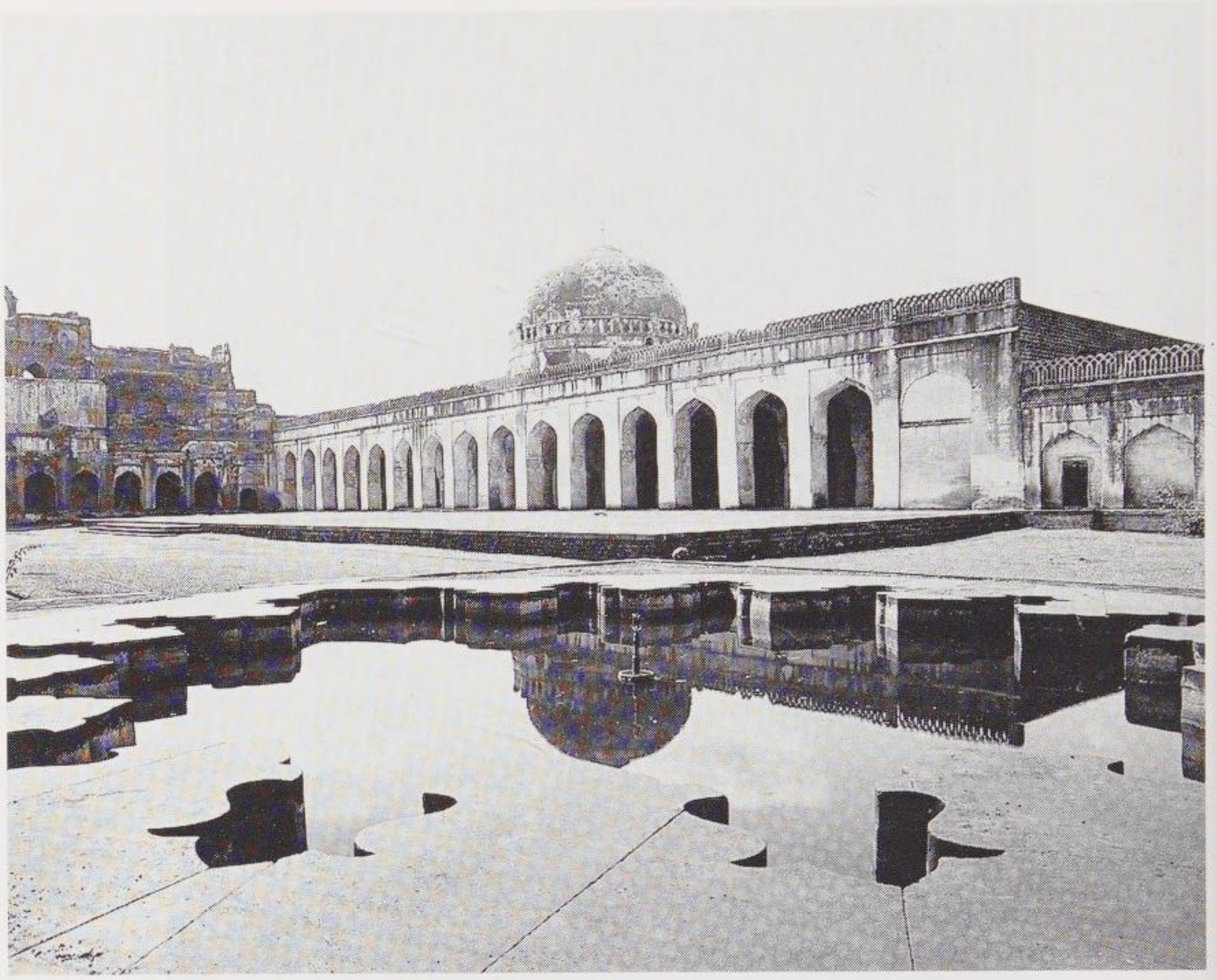
A short distance north of the Jami mosque stands the brick-built Chand Minar (Fig. 34). Its 30-metre-high cylindrical shaft is divided into four stages by three diminishing circular balconies. These are carried on brackets sculpted with pendant lotuses. Though the base of the minar dates from Tughluq times, the central section was added by Alauddin Hasan to commemorate his occupation of Daulatabad in 1346. Its fluted profile recalls that of the Qutb Minar. The summit of the Daulatabad



34 Chand Minar, Daulatabad, early fourteenth century and later

minaret is marked by a bulbous dome. Its base is concealed by a structure with a small mosque, added in 1445. The tapering cylindrical minaret of the Ek Minar mosque at Raichur is almost certainly a Tughluq foundation. Roughly executed open stonework balconies are carried on lotus brackets. A cornice of angled bricks and a shallow frieze of battlements decorate the base of its domical top.

Another monument dating from this era is the Solah Khamba mosque in the fort at Bidar (Fig. 35). Founded in 1327, it consists of a long prayer hall with nineteen aisles, each five bays deep, roofed with flattish domes on faceted pendentives. Instead of temple-like columns, the supports here are massive circular columns with stylised leafy motifs at the top. The mihrab recessed into the rear wall is framed by a cusped arch. The bays in front form a large chamber. The dome is carried on squinches that display struts fashioned as elephant trunks. The outer arcade lacks any original features, the parapet of pierced interlocking battlements being a later addition. The principal dome with a characteristic flattish profile is raised on a circular drum articulated with trefoil crenellations in relief. Whatever court would have been laid out in front of the prayer hall was later incorporated into the Lal Bagh (see chapter 2).

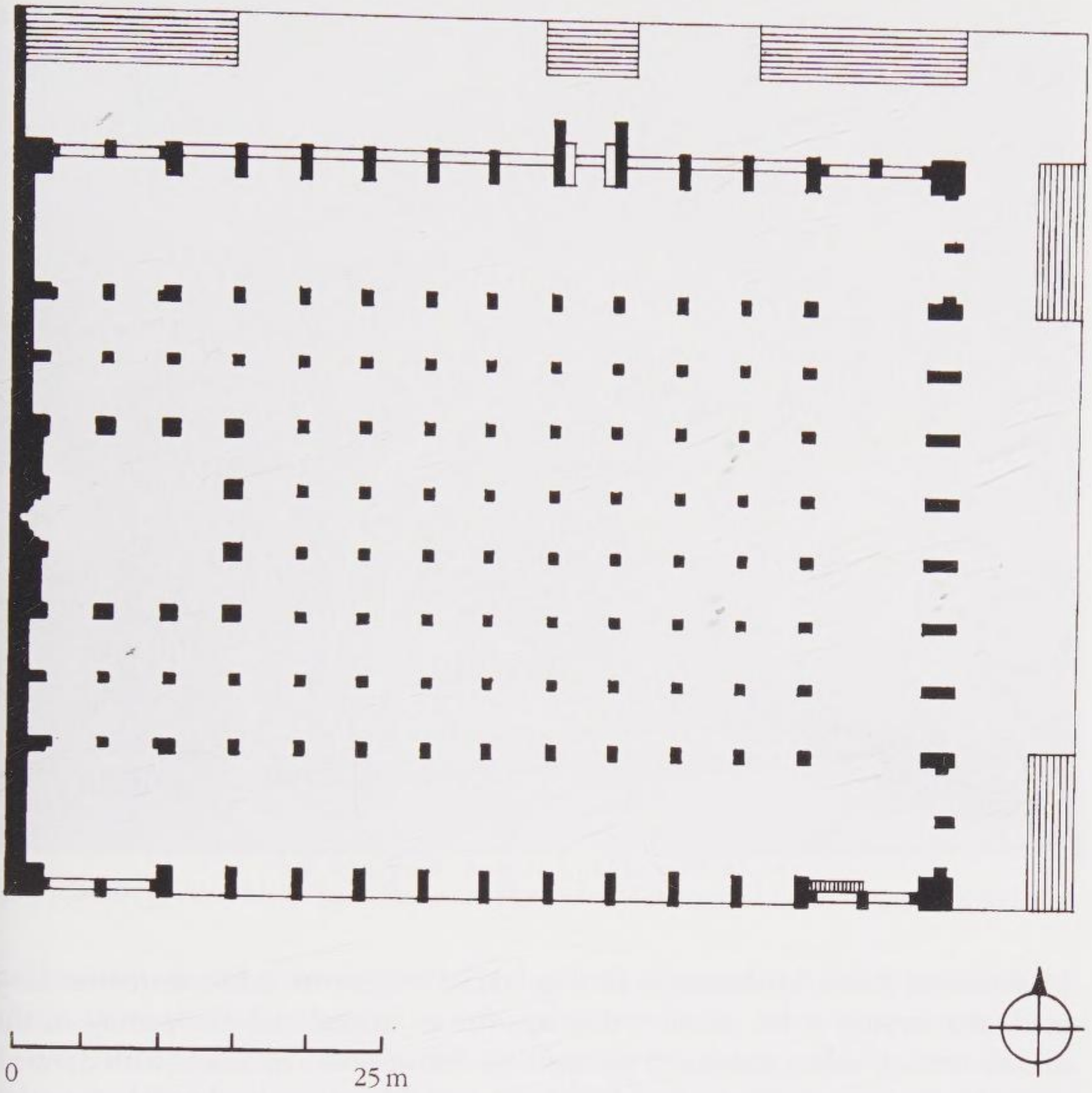


35 Solah Khamba mosque, Bidar, 1327

Tomb building in the Deccan was initiated by the Tughluqs on a modest scale as can be seen in the mausoleum of the Chishti saint Hazrat Burhanuddin Gharib erected at Khuldabad in 1344. This small cubic building has sloping walls with corner pilasters capped with a somewhat flattish dome.

THE BAHMANIS

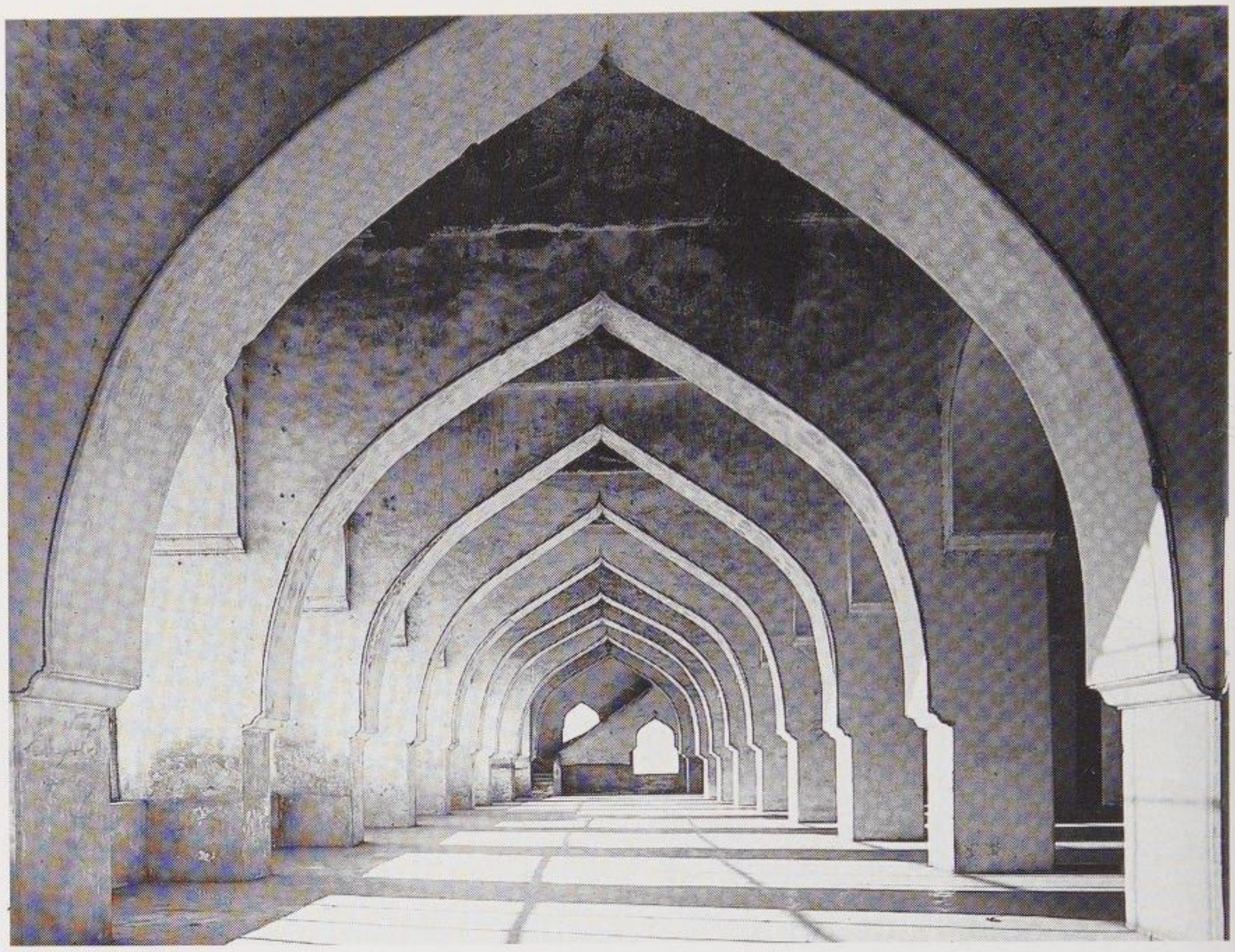
A dependence on Tughluq models characterises the religious architecture of the Bahmanis in its first phase at Gulbarga. The Jami mosque within the fort at Gulbarga is remarkable since it is without any open court (Figs. 36 and 37). This novel feature partly recalls Tughluq practice, such as the Kirkhi mosque in Delhi in which a central court is replaced by four smaller sub-courts, as well as contemporary Anatolian mosques which are often entirely roofed over. The date of 1367 inscribed on a slab set up beside the entrance to the Gulbarga monument has been questioned; it is possible that the Jami mosque as it stands today was only built towards the end of the century, during the reign of Firuz Shah. The outer aisles on three sides of the prayer hall present receding perspectives of low arches with angled profiles. These carry pointed vaults on rectangular plans, ten on the north and



36 Plan of Jami mosque, Gulbarga, 1367

south sides, seven on the east side, with domes over the corner square bays. Smaller interior bays are roofed with shallow domes on faceted pendentives. An enlarged chamber in front of the mihrab, occupying an area equivalent to nine bays, is roofed with a single dome. The angled arches of the drum have trefoil interiors with elongated lobes. The exterior of the Jami mosque has been somewhat altered: the timber screens that once filled the arcaded openings are lost; the arched entrance portal on the north is a later addition. The principal dome is elevated on a cubic clerestory.

The evolution of the Bahmani style is best illustrated in the funerary monuments of the period. The earliest examples dating from the second half of the fourteenth century are simple buildings clearly based on Tughluq models. West of the fort at Gulbarga is the necropolis of the tomb buildings of Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah,



37 Interior of Jami mosque, Gulbarga, 1367

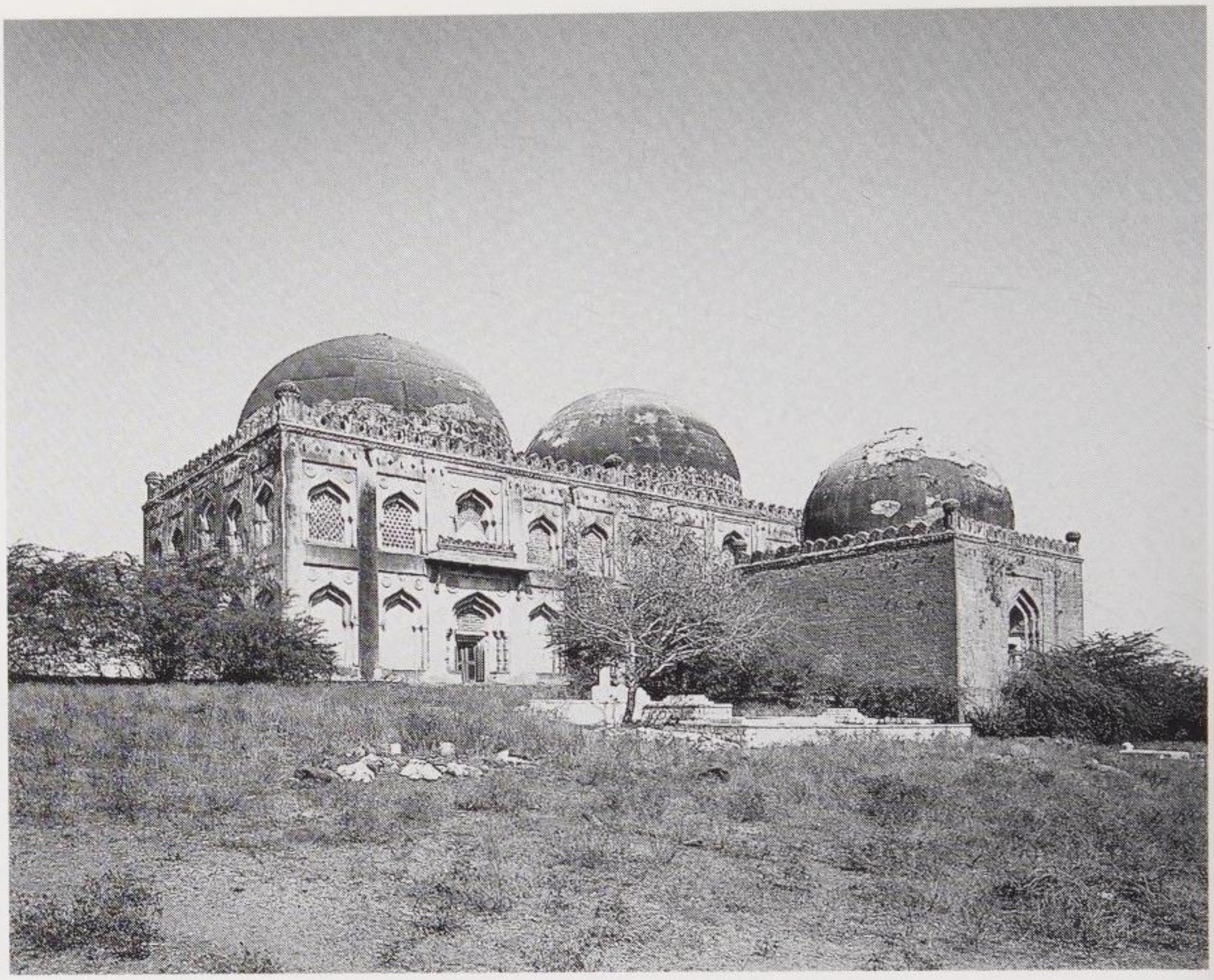
Muhammad I and Muhammad II (Fig. 38). These squat cubic structures have markedly sloping walls, unrelieved except for an angled arched opening in the middle of each side. Crenellated parapets run between fluted finials with domical tops; the domes are smooth and flattish. One small unidentified building in this group displays a fluted dome, a rare instance in the Deccan. The tomb that forms the core of the dargah of Shaykh Sirajuddin Junaydi, located at a similar distance north of the fort, conforms to the same scheme. So do the tombs of Mujahid and Dawud I in the Haft Gunbad complex on the eastern flank of the city. These latter examples are both double tombs, with twin domed chambers linked by narrow corridors. The mausoleum of Zainuddin Shirazi at Khuldabad, dating from 1370, closely resembles these Gulbarga monuments.

That this robust style was not confined to funerary architecture is visible in the Shah Bazaar mosque north of Gulbarga fort, a project assigned to the reign of Muhammad I. The mosque has a large court entered through a domed entrance chamber identical to the tombs just noted. Exactly the same style of domed entrance is found in the Jami mosque at Firuzabad dating from 1400. Both mosques have large rectangular courts. The prayer hall of the Shah Bazaar mosque has fifteen aisles, each with six domed bays. That at Firuzabad has collapsed, leaving only the

38 Tombs of Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah and Muhammad I, Gulbarga, 1358 and 1375

perimeter wall with arched openings and crenellated parapet. A staircase set into the thickness of the walls once led to a raised gallery in the north-west corner of the prayer hall, probably reserved for the use of the sultan and his retinue. An important variation to be noted at Firuzabad is the preference for arches with rounded rather than angled profiles.

The next phase of funerary architecture at Gulbarga is represented by the masterpiece of the early Bahmani period, the tomb of Tajuddin Firuz in the Haft Gunbad complex (Figs. 39 and 40). This double structure has two domes rising more than 9 metres above the parapet of trefoil battlements. A series of innovations announces the mature Bahmani style. The walls are no longer plain and tapering; instead, they are almost vertical and are divided into double tiers of recesses framed by angled arches in multiple planes. The upper recesses are filled with masonry screens with simple geometric patterns. Similar panels appear above the doorways. These are sheltered by angled eaves on temple-like brackets with half-pyramidal vaults above. Bands of plaster motifs decorate both the exterior and interior of the building (see chapter 4). Arched recesses of the same design arranged in two tiers adorn the interiors of the chambers. At the lower level, corner arches have cusped profiles, while those higher up are conceived as squinches with fluted outlines.

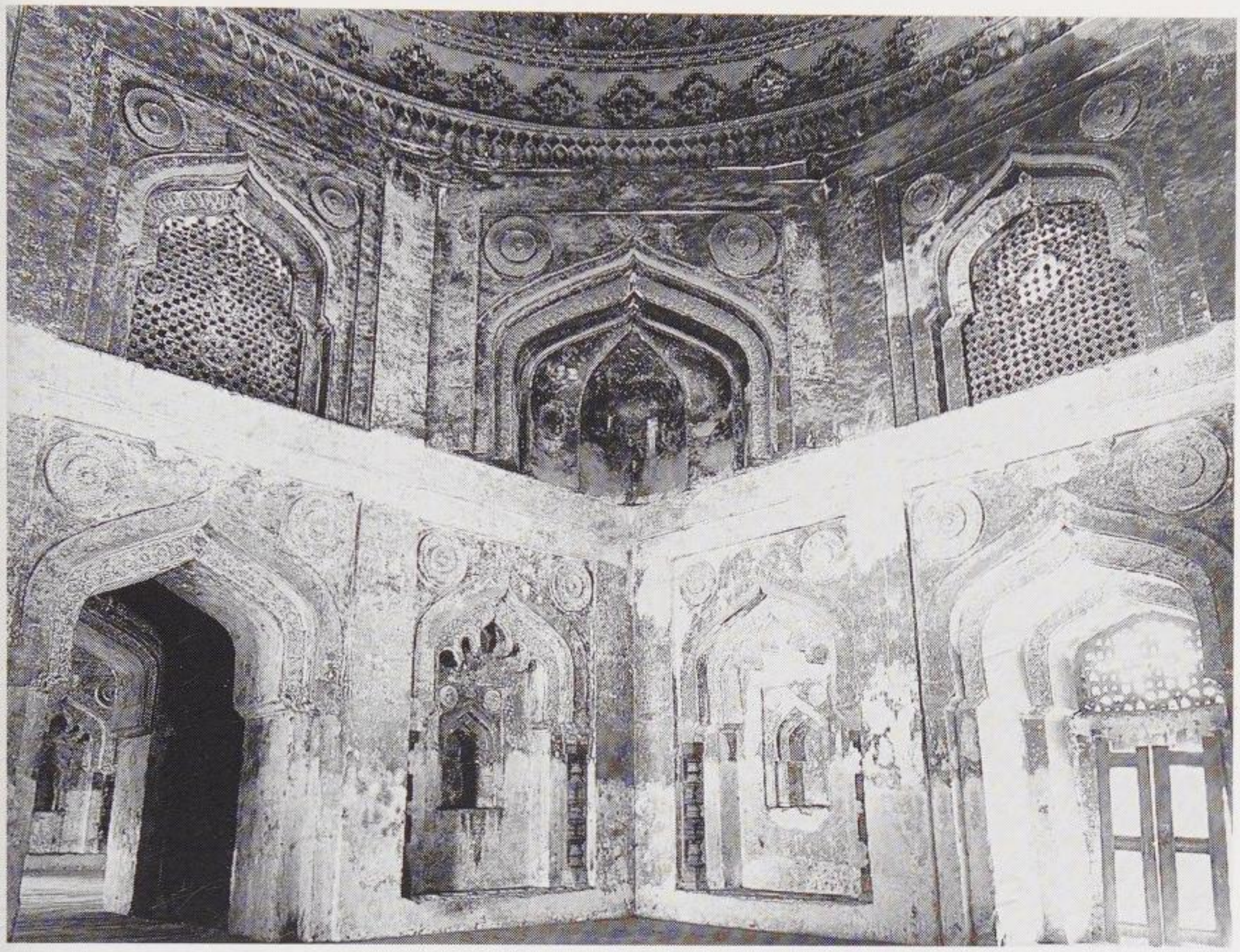


39 Tomb of Tajuddin Firuz, Gulbarga, 1422

Though twin tombs were not to be repeated in Deccan architecture, double tiers of arched wall recesses, lines of trefoil crenellations and fully shaped domes become essential features of the mature Bahmani style. All these attributes are present in the mausoleum of Gesudaraz that forms the nucleus of the dargah a short distance east of Gulbarga. The Chor Gunbad outside the city on its western flank was erected in 1420 for Gesuedaraz, but was never actually used. Miniature domed pavilions at the corners replace the more usual finials.

The dispersal of this funerary model beyond the capital is seen at Holkonda, 30 kilometres north of Gulbarga (Fig. 41). The largest though unidentified tomb of this group has a single entrance framed by an arched recess in triple planes. The adjacent tombs show double tiers of arched recesses with trefoil parapets and fluted corner finials. An imposing gate with a lofty arch in two planes serves as the entrance to the complex.

The tomb of Khalifat al-Rahman north of Firuzabad presents unusual variations. Its façades are dominated by central portals with arched recesses framing doorways or windows. The crenellated parapet and fluted finials of the portals are raised up above those of the walls at either side. Four passageways with pointed vaults lead to the central domed chamber; smaller domed rooms occupy the corners. The vaults,



40 Interior of tomb of Tajuddin Firuz

which are accentuated by flattish ribs, are identical to those noted in the defensive gateways of the nearby palace city (see chapter 2). The use of raised portals in the middle of each side and the combination of vaulted and domed spaces surrounding the central chamber, which is set back within the core of the building, is closer to Iranian models than to previous Deccan architecture. Another instance of a pointed vault with ribs occurs in the Langar-ki mosque, 2 kilometres north of Gulbarga (Fig. 42). Here, however, the vault which roofs the prayer hall is laid out in a transverse direction with respect to the qibla wall. A cusped arch framed by double sets of recesses serves as the mihrab. A trio of similar arches is seen on the outer façade.

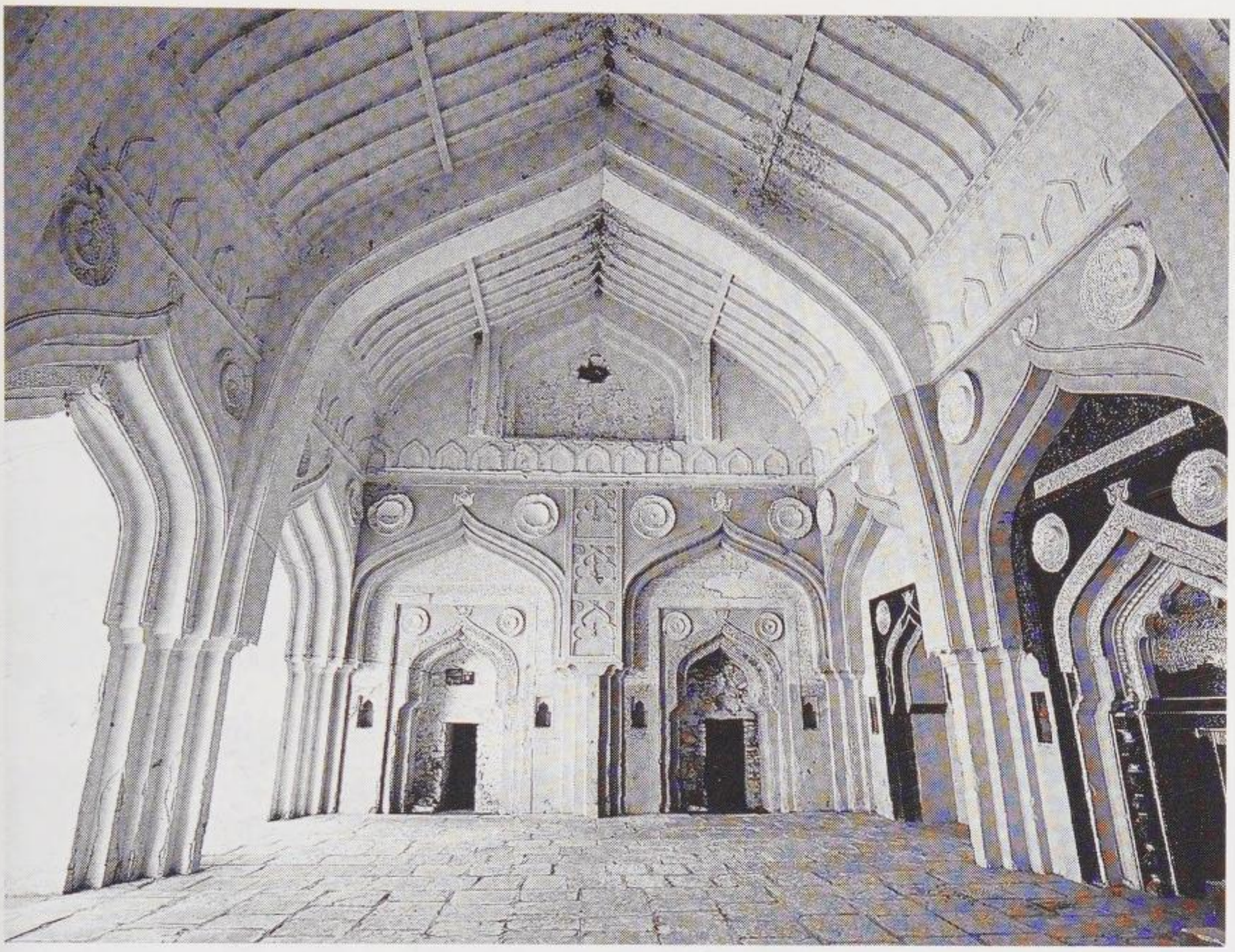
Buildings at Bidar typify the later phase of the Bahmani style in which there is increasing evidence of direct influence from the Turco-Iranian world. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the great madrasa erected by Mahmud Gawan in 1472 (Figs. 43 and 44). Modelled on a well-established Central Asian building type, this building provides an unprecedented example of architectural transposition. Though the madrasa was severely damaged in an explosion in 1696 the original scheme is apparent. The great court has four imposing arched portals surmounted by domes raised high on circular or octagonal drums. At either side of the portals are triple

41 Tombs, Holkonda, fifteenth century

tiers of arched openings leading to teaching rooms; domed chambers at the corners once accommodated libraries. The principal façade, facing east onto the main north–south street of the city, was flanked by a pair of tall cylindrical minarets, of which only one still stands. It has three stages separated by cantilevered balconies; the summit is domed. Traces of the striking polychrome tilework with which the madrasa was decorated survive (see Fig. 100).

Funerary monuments of the later Bahmanis are concentrated at Ashtur, 3 kilometres north-east of Bidar (Fig. 45). The impressive tomb of Ahmad I is both the earliest and the finest of the group. Its walls are articulated by tiers of arched recesses, seven at the top and four on each of the middle and lower registers. The pointed contours of these arches are typical of the Persian-dominated manner of the period. The crenellated parapet with corner finials is repeated on the sixteen-sided drum on which the dome is raised; a pot-like finial crowns the dome. Paintings adorn the interior (see Fig. 105).

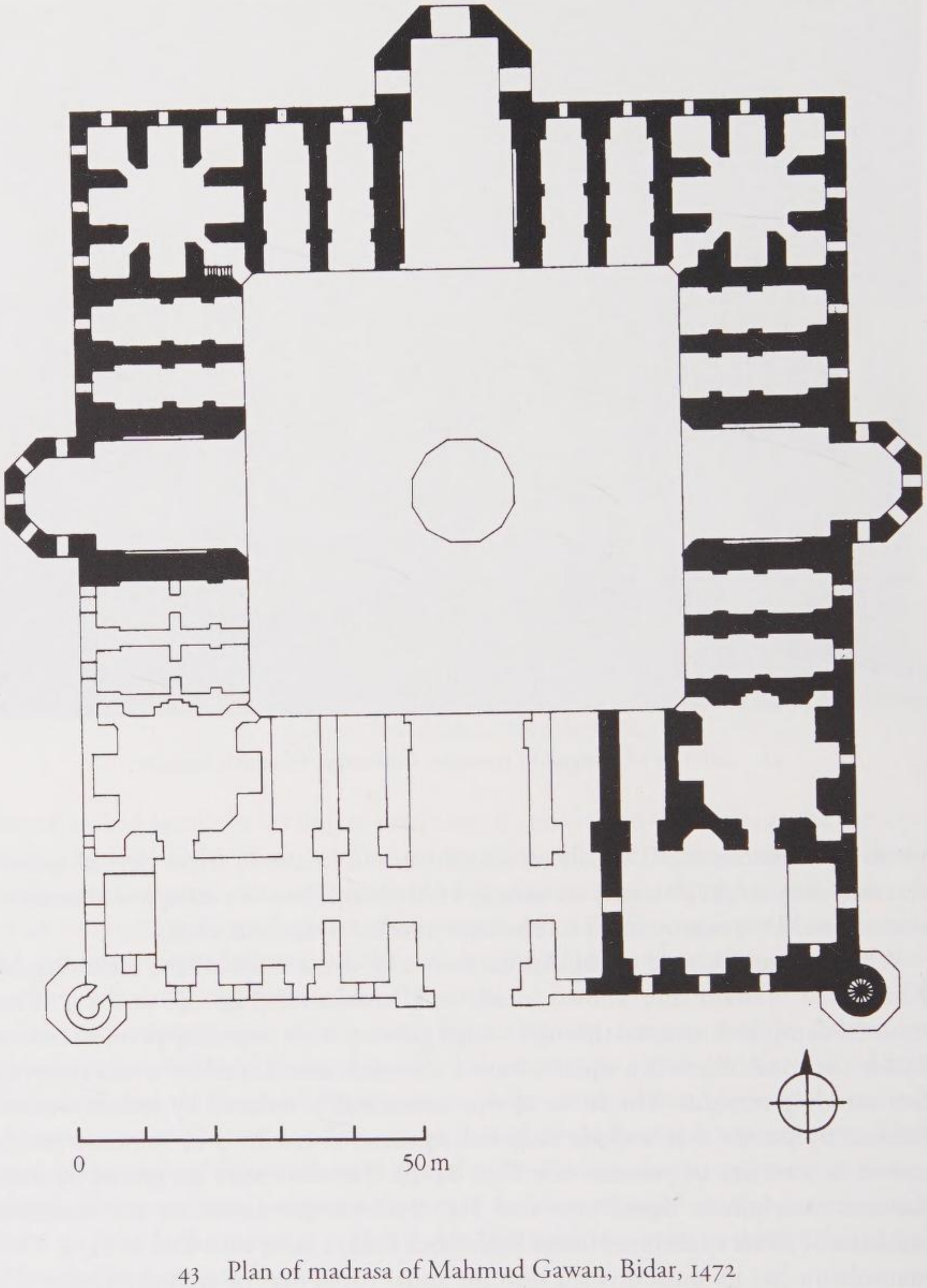
The façade of the adjacent tomb of Alauddin Ahmad II employs five arched recesses of unequal height arranged in symmetrical formation. The arches have gently curved profiles outlined with stone bands. Similarly framed diagonal square panels are placed above the outer niches. This scheme is enhanced by polychrome tilework, the finest on any Bahmani funerary monument (see chapter 4). The later



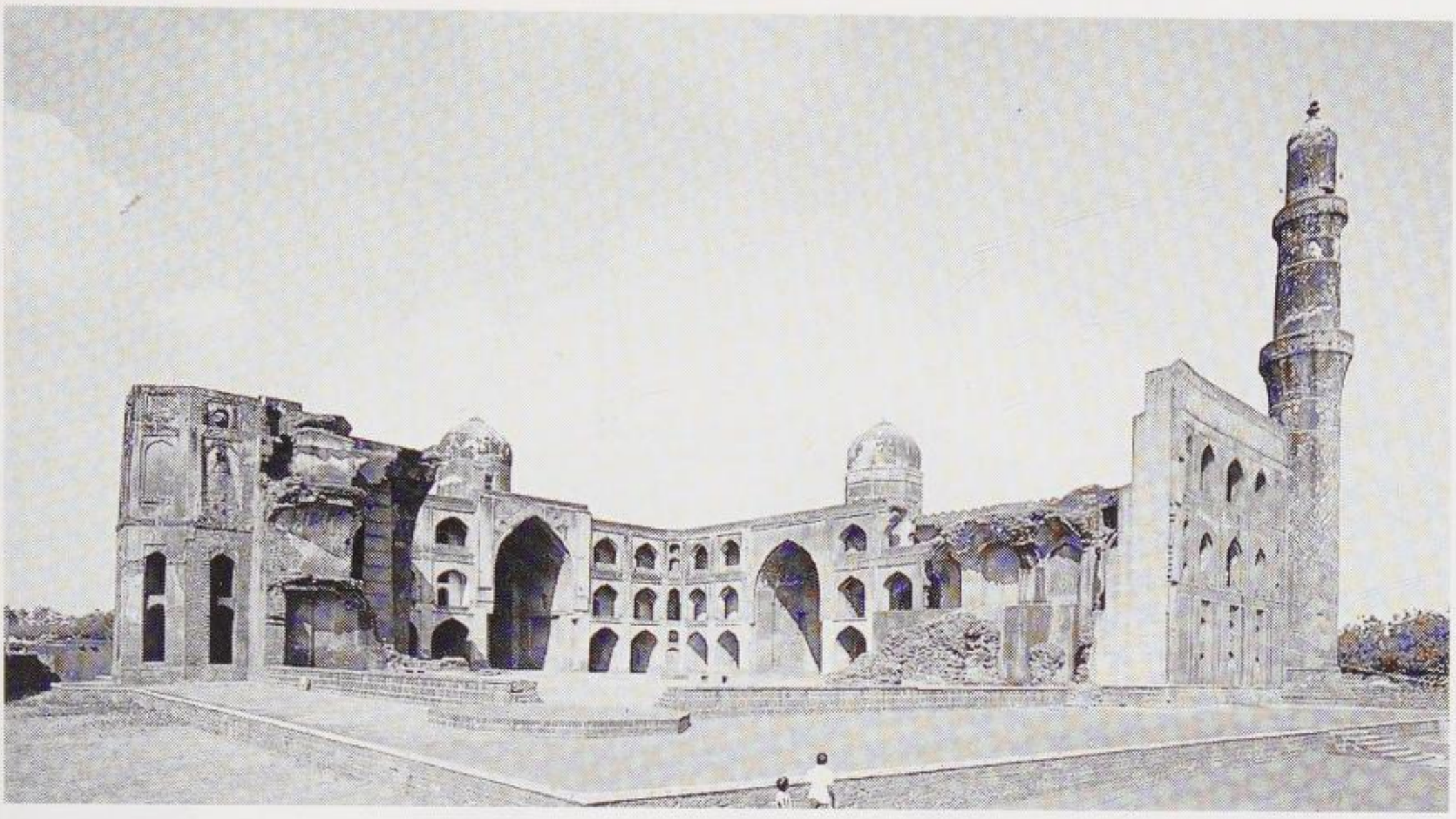
42 Interior of Langar-ki mosque, Gulbarga, fifteenth century

tomb of Muhammad III recalls earlier schemes in its use of triple tiers of arched recesses; the parapet elements are enlarged but plain. There is a complete absence of decoration. Two nearby small tombs have unusual pyramidal vaults.

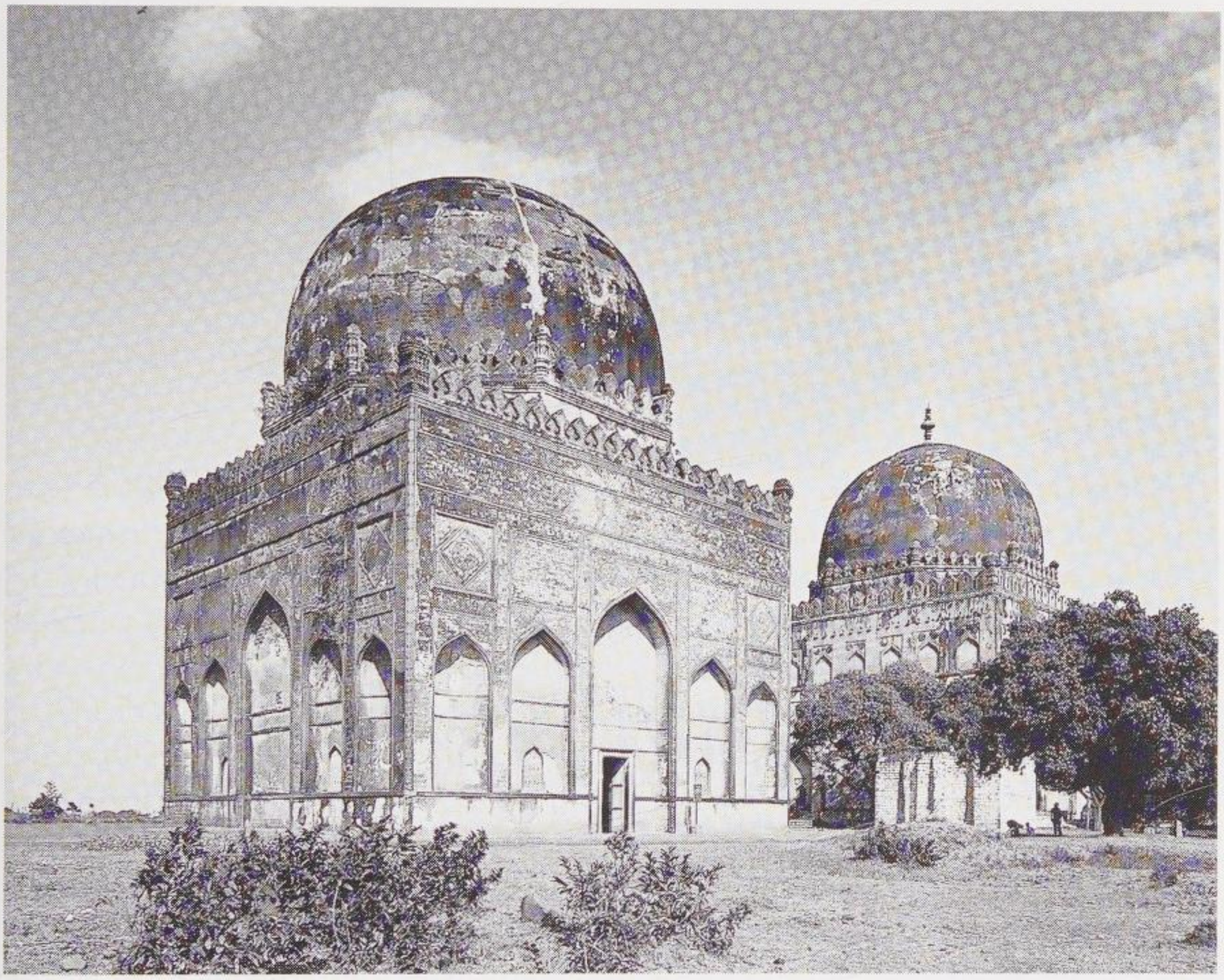
A short distance west of the Ashtur cemetery is the tomb of the saint Shaykh Khalilullah Nimatullahi, known locally as Chaukhandi (Figs. 46 and 47). This unusual complex is entered through a large gateway with imposing pointed arches. Inside the mausoleum is a square domed chamber surrounded by a two-storeyed free-standing octagon. The fabric of this screen wall is reduced by arched recesses flanked by panels that include diagonal squares, all outlined in masonry bands carved in a variety of patterns (see Figs. 84–6). The doorways are graced by long Koranic inscriptions dated 1450 (see Fig. 83). Another tomb on the southern outskirts of Bidar enshrines Hazrat Shah Abul Faid, a saint who died in 1474. This mausoleum has its walls divided into the usual triple tiers of arched recesses; the hemispherical dome above is the largest of the period. Tile mosaic embellished the main entrance (see Fig. 101).



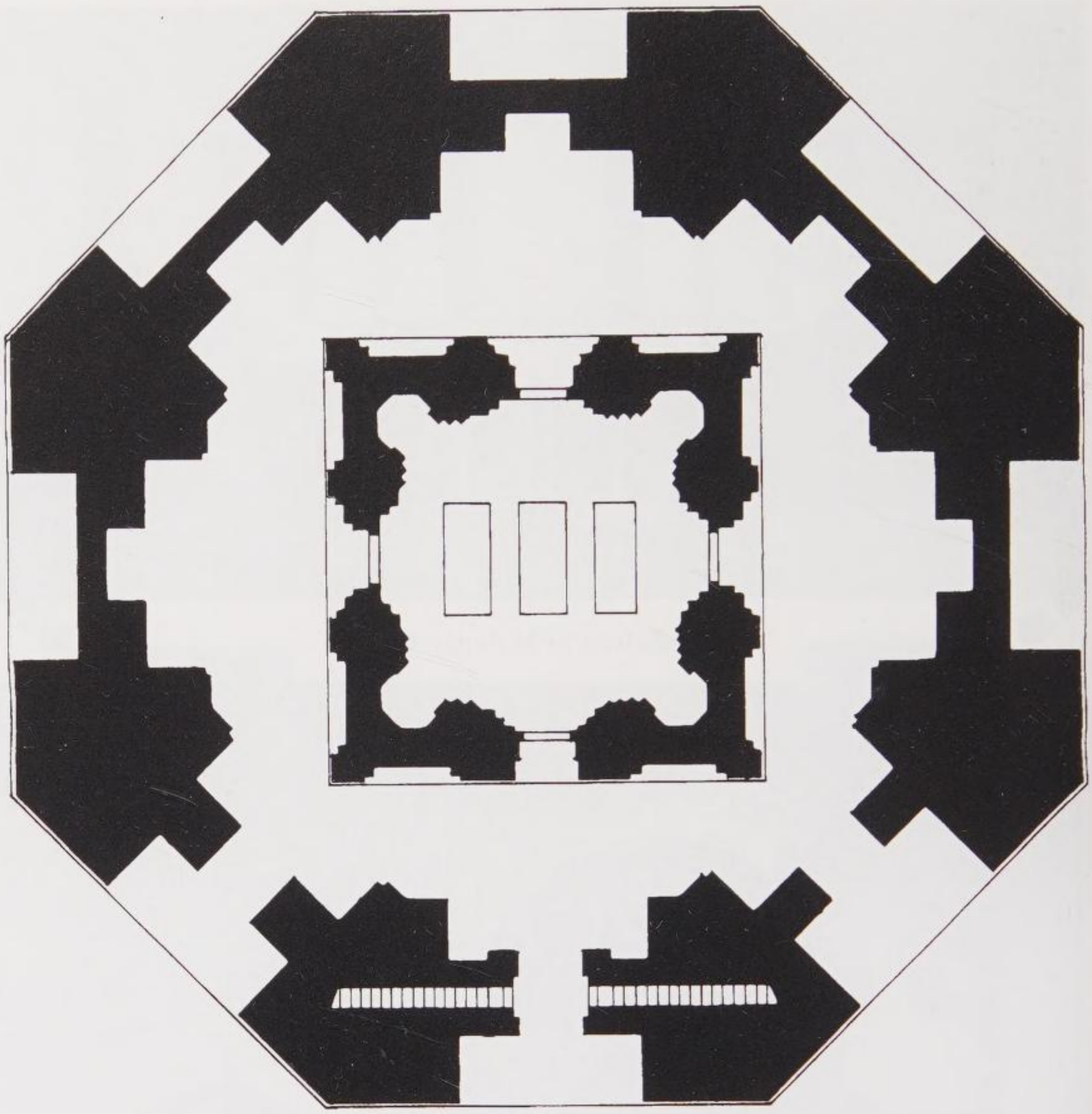
43 Plan of madrasa of Mahmud Gawan, Bidar, 1472



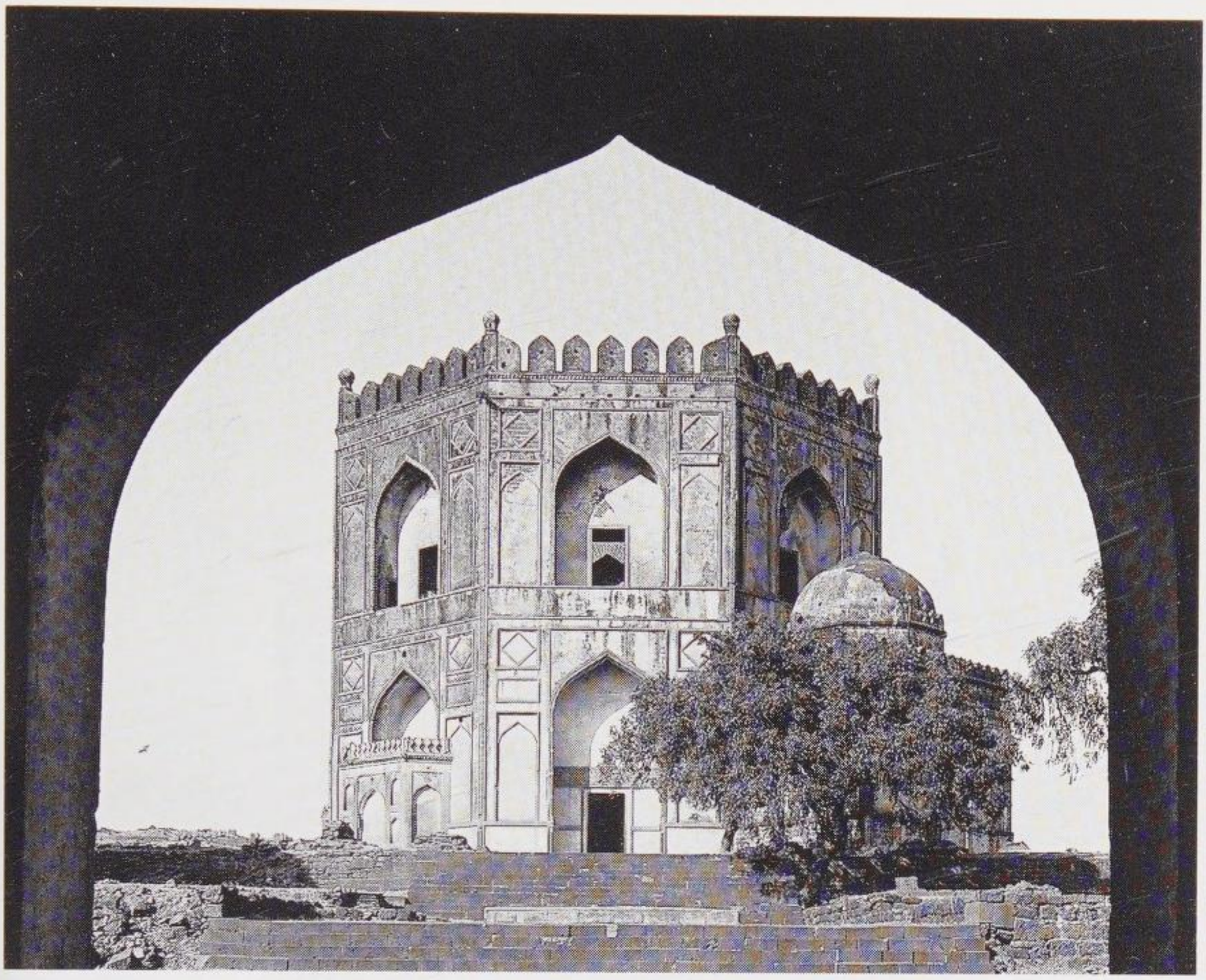
44 Madrasa of Mahmud Gawan



45 Tombs of Ahmad I (behind) and Alauddin Ahmad II (in front), Bidar, 1436 and 1458



46 Plan of tomb of Shaykh Khalilullah (Chaukhandi), Bidar, 1450



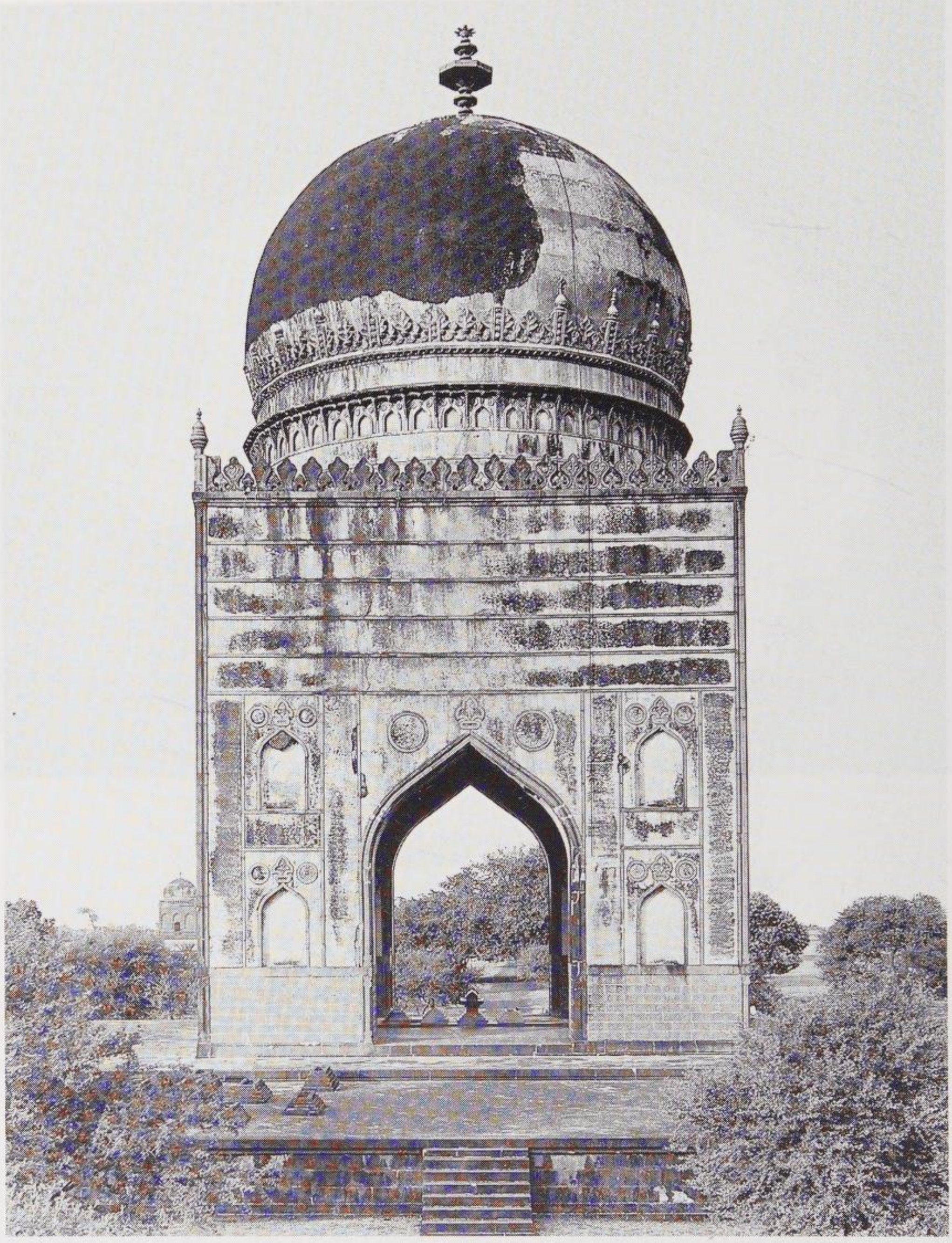
47 Tomb of Shaykh Khalilullah

THE BARIDIS

Architectural activity under the Baridis is mostly restricted to garden tombs in and around the capital. The most important funerary monuments stand in the royal necropolis 2 kilometres west of Bidar. The tomb of Qasim I is a small insignificant building in the late Bahmani style; that of Amir I, his successor, was left with two storeys of arched recesses, but without any dome.

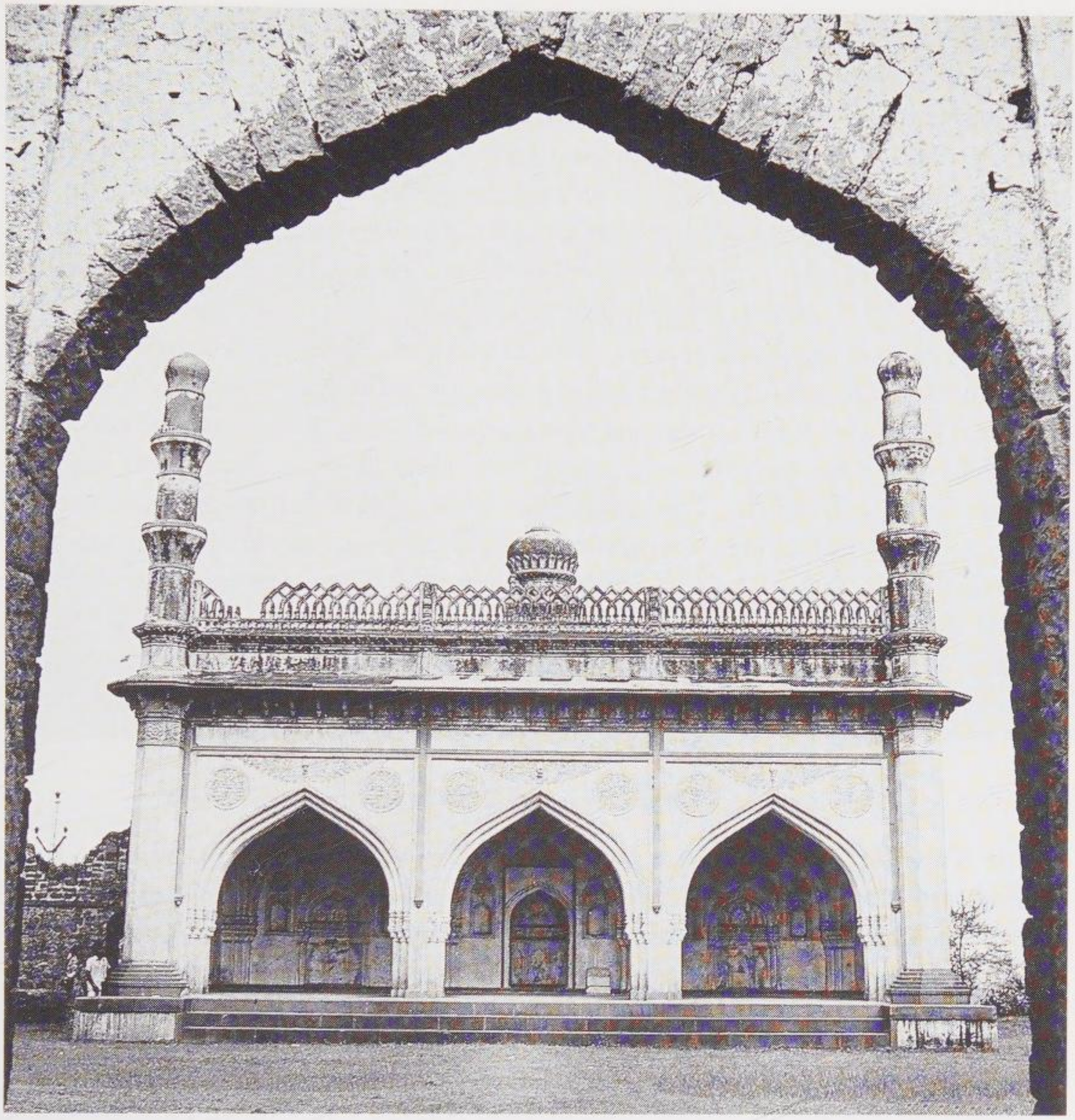
The mausoleum of Khan Jahan, brother of Amir I, stands on a high platform in the middle of a square garden with regularly laid out walkways, water channels and octagonal platforms surrounded by a perimeter wall and moat. The tomb itself is a modest structure, with two unequal tiers of triple recesses with pointed arches decorated with incised plasterwork. The walls are surmounted by a bold parapet of trefoil crenellations. The so-called Barber's tomb nearby is a small open structure with four arches carrying a small dome. The adjacent triple-bay mosque repeats the same pointed arches in multiple planes.

The masterpiece of the Baridi series is the mausoleum of Ali Shah, completed in 1577 (Fig. 48). The tomb consists of a lofty domed chamber, open on four sides,



48 Tomb of Ali Barid Shah, Bidar, 1577

standing in the middle of a standard Persian chahar-bagh, or four-square garden. Each façade has a central pointed arched opening, with double tiers of smaller arched recesses at either side. Five horizontal bands intended for tilework are seen above the openings. All the arches and bands are outlined in strips of dark



49 Mosque associated with tomb of Ali Barid Shah

grey-green basalt. The parapet and base of the dome, both with ornate trefoil parapet elements or petals, are elaborately treated; an octagonal finial marks the summit. Bands of coloured tilework decorating the walls of the domed chamber include elaborately painted Koranic inscriptions (see chapter 4). The dome is carried on multi-faceted pendentives decorated with plaster scrollwork. The sarcophagus beneath is of polished black basalt. The garden in which the tomb is set is entered on the south side through a gateway with broad low arches with a suite of upper rooms above. Beyond is a small mosque with three arches in triple planes surrounded by intricate plaster decoration (Fig. 49). A delicate pierced parapet of interlocking battlements surmounts the angled eaves. Octagonal minarets with

domical tops flank the façade. The interior consists of three chambers roofed with flattish domes supported on faceted pendentives (see Fig. 78).

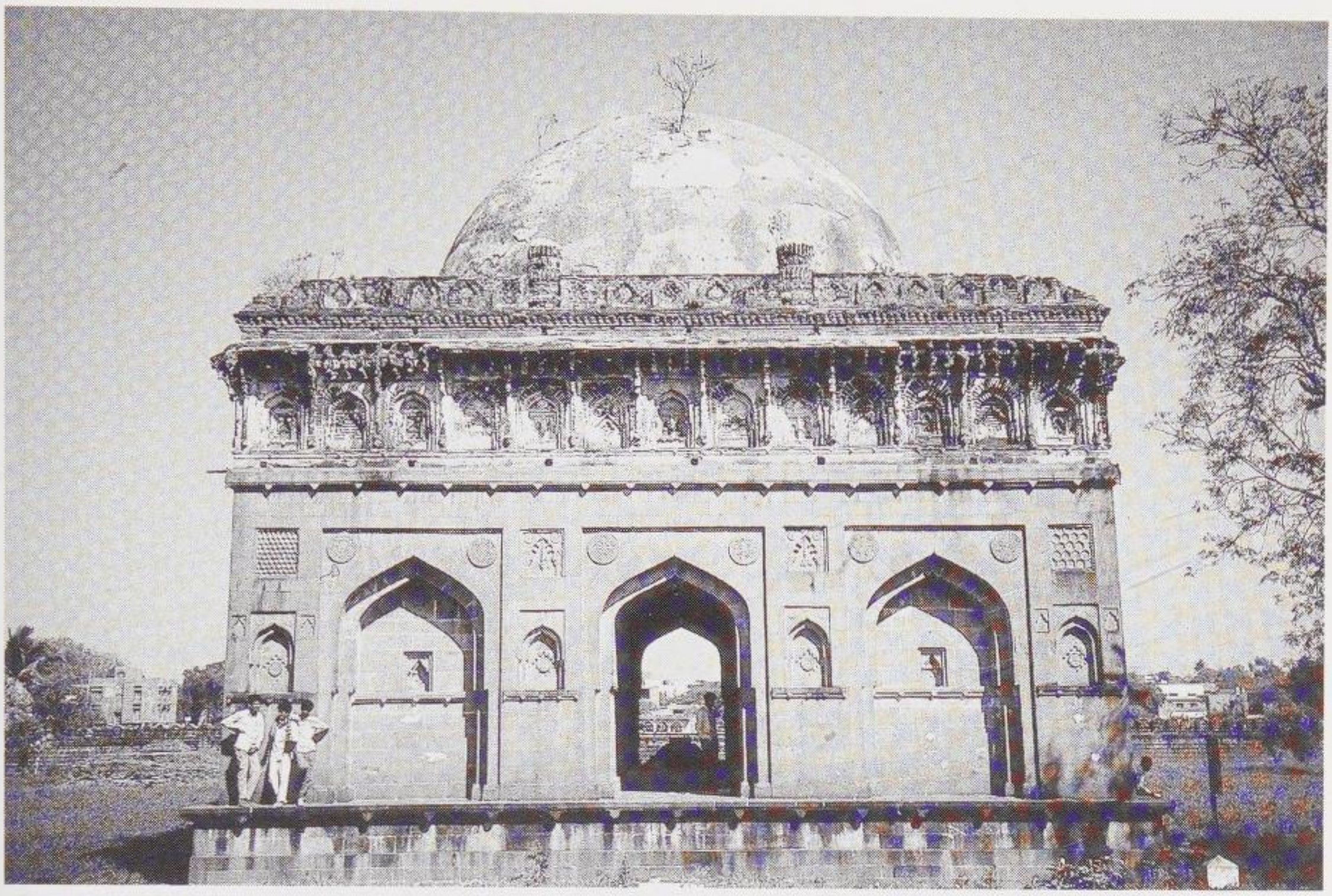
The tomb of Qasim II reverts to the earlier Bahmani scheme at Ashtur, with double tiers of arched recesses flanking larger and higher recesses in the middle. Squares set on the diagonal fill the rectangular panels over the central recesses. An unusual complex east of Bidar, the Habshi Kot, is also associated with the Baridis. The most important feature in this cemetery is a rectangular enclosure of arched screens with an open domed tomb in the middle.

Other than mosques associated with funerary monuments, few new places of worship were erected by the Baridis; an exception is the Kali mosque just south of Bidar. The prayer hall is a modest structure with three aisles, each of two bays. Multi-faceted piers and arches support a flat ceiling over the central rear bay and shallow domes elsewhere. The mihrab is constructed as a part-decagon, topped with its own small dome. Incomplete octagonal minarets rising from tapering pedestals frame three unadorned arched openings. They are sheltered by eaves on ornate brackets and a plain parapet. Elsewhere, the parapet presents a line of cut-out trefoil elements. An unusual feature is the buttress-like projection containing the mihrab which is roofed by a small domed pavilion raised on open arches.

THE NIZAM SHAHIS

Most of the Nizam Shahis were not great tomb builders, as they preferred to have their bones transported to Kerbala in Iraq in accordance with Shia practice. An exception was Ahmad Bahri whose mausoleum of 1509 forms the centrepiece of Bagh Rauza, the walled garden complex on the western fringe of Ahmadnagar (Fig. 50). The tomb has arched openings flanked by similarly shaped recesses on each side. Pilaster-like jambs flank the principal doorway on the south. The façade is ornamented with carved panels of different designs (see chapter 4). A brick frieze of arched recesses is overhung by stone eaves carried on brackets linked by suspended beams. Corner and intermediate finials are capped with domical tops. The interior is lavishly decorated with a line of plaster arches, some with cusped interiors, over which runs a band of calligraphy. The south-west corner of the compound is occupied by a small structure with a pyramidal vault, the last resting place of Ahmad's prime minister. The king's astrologer is buried in a domed building just outside the enclave.

The Jami mosque in Ahmadnagar also dates from the reign of Ahmad Bahri. Its prayer hall of five by three bays is roofed with shallow domes on alternating octagonal and circular bases. Qasim Khan's mosque, another building of this period, presents a triple-bay façade, the central arch being wider and taller. Of greater originality is the Mecca mosque erected in 1525 by Rumi Khan, a Turkish artillery officer in the service of Burhan I. Its prayer hall is reached by a steep flight of steps, built on top of a sarai. Triple arches are supported by polished granite

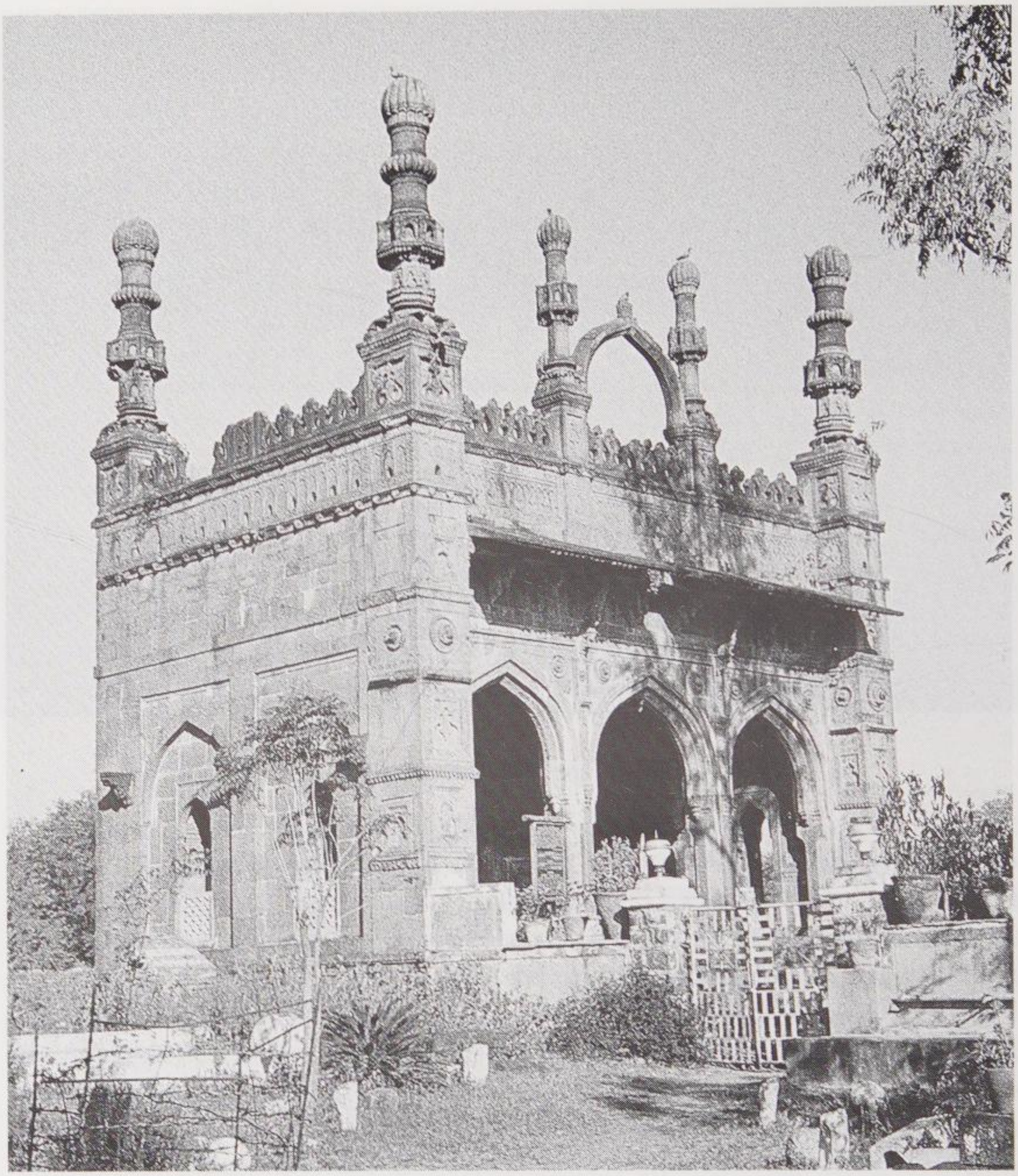


50 Tomb of Ahmad Bahri Nizam Shah, Ahmadnagar, 1509

columns, reputedly imported from Mecca, hence the name of the building. The finials have clusters of curved brackets carrying miniature eaves and fluted domical tops. The interior is roofed with transverse vaults, both flat and pointed, running the full width of the building.

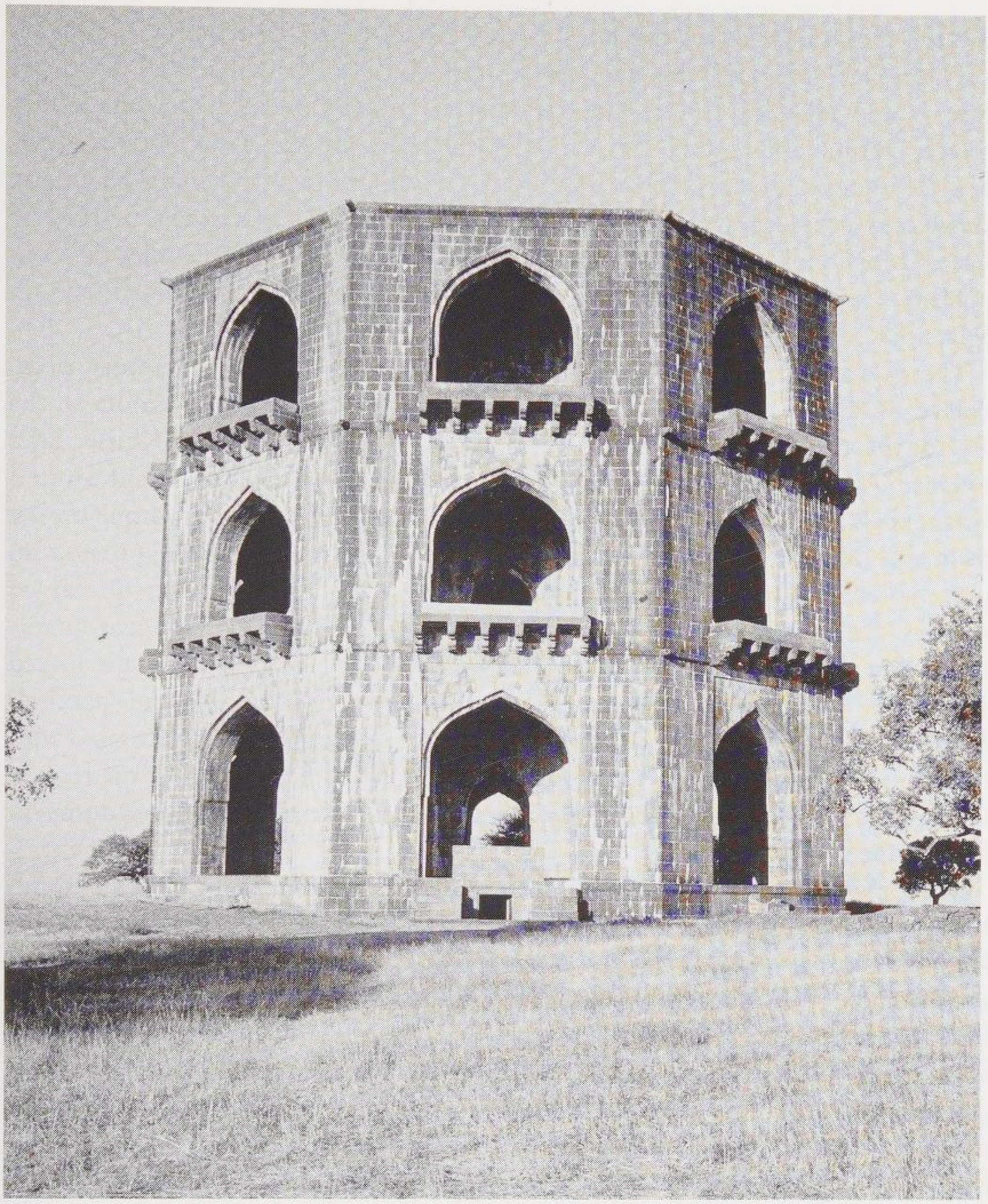
The Kotla complex in the northern quarter of Ahmadnagar was constructed in 1537 at the orders of Burhan I as an educational institution to promote Shiism. The central square court is surrounded by arcades with chambers for student accommodation. The enclosure is approached on the east through an arched gate and a domed sarai, now partly fallen. A large platform in the middle of the court marks the site of an open cistern. The mosque on the west has a prayer chamber with five aisles, three bays deep, roofed with alternating pyramidal vaults and shallow domes. The arcaded façade is overhung by eaves carried on brackets and angled struts that imitate carved woodwork.

The next group of monuments at Ahmadnagar is assigned to the reigns of Husain I and Murtaza I. The tomb of the nobleman Sharza Khan, popularly known as Do Boti Chira, is an unusual small structure dating from 1562. It consists of a central domed bay with vaulted side bays. Its unadorned surfaces contrast markedly with the ornate treatment of the Damri mosque of 1568 standing outside the city, about 500 metres north-east of the great circular fort (Fig. 51). Though small in scale, this finely finished building epitomises the carved intricacy of the Nizam



51 Damri mosque, Ahmadnagar, 1568

Shahi style (see also chapter 4). Piers separating the triple arches of the façade and the framing buttresses are divided into niches. The cut-out trefoil parapet above has finials topped with miniature octagonal pavilions and domical pinnacles; an unusual free-standing arch connects the inner pair of finials. Flat roof slabs over the six bays of the interior are unusually fashioned so as to reflect the patterning of the floor slabs directly beneath. The rear wall has polygonal side niches and square central niche. Arched windows in the flanking walls lack their balcony slabs.



52 Tomb of Salabat Khan, Ahmadnagar, late sixteenth century

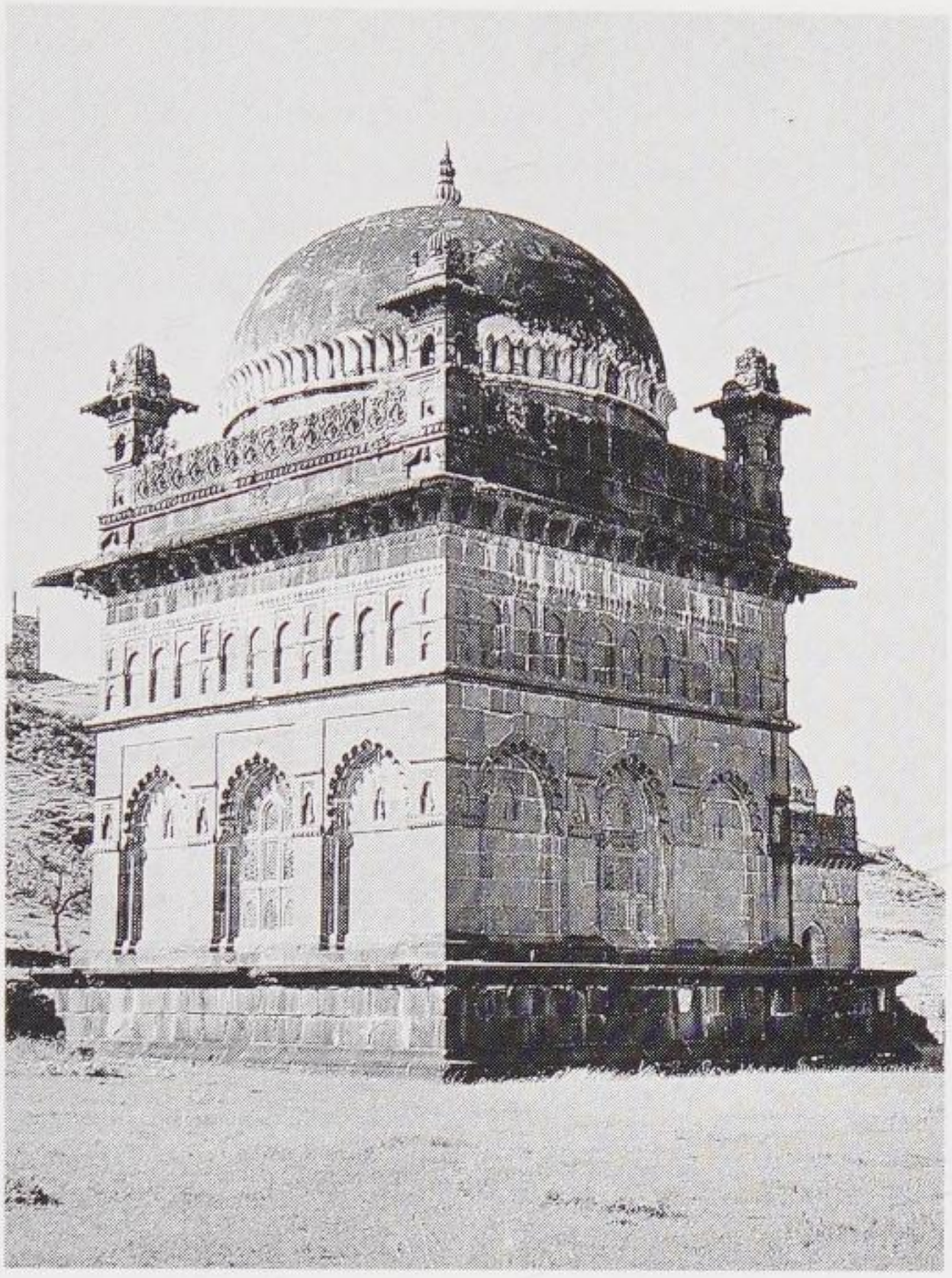
The tomb of Rumi Khan, patron of the Mecca mosque, who died in 1568, displays double tiers of triple-arched recesses with doorways and windows in the middle of each side. Pavilion-like finials, now missing their domical tops, are placed at the corners of a large dome with a petalled base. This scheme is repeated in the dargah of Hazrat Shah Sharif, erected in 1596 a short distance east of the city. The arched recesses of the outer walls have contrasting pointed and lobed profiles. The mausoleum of Salabat Khan presents a quite different scheme (Fig. 52). This unique

towered monument commemorates Salabat Khan, prime minister of Murtaza I, and himself a builder of note, being responsible for reconstructing Farah Bagh (see Figs. 17 and 18). The austere but impressive tomb stands on a spacious hilltop terrace, commanding views across the plain to Ahmadnagar 10 kilometres to the west. The graves of Salabat Khan and his wife are placed in an octagonal basement. Above rises a three-storeyed octagon, some 23 metres high. Each side is marked by tiers of broad arched openings, the upper two with projecting balconies on lotus brackets. The double-height octagonal chamber is surrounded by domed bays on eight sides.

The dearth of monuments at Ahmadnagar in the seventeenth century is explained by the cessation of building activity owing to the repeated assaults on the city by the Mughals and the shift of the Nizam Shahi capital to Khirki, later renamed Aurangabad. Some of the finest mosques and tombs in and around Aurangabad are linked with the career of Malik Ambar. The Jami mosque on the north side of the city, founded in 1615 and extended in Mughal times, presents an undecorated façade with slightly pointed arches overhung by eaves on carved brackets. This faces onto a square court with a large central cistern, partly surrounded by domed chambers. The Kali mosque within the walled city is also linked with Malik Ambar. Medallions carried on curving brackets occupy the spandrels above the triple arches of the façade. Octagonal corner buttresses are decorated with ornamental niches and topped with domical finials. Shallow domes on faceted pendentives roof the three interior bays; that in the middle rises as a fluted dome on the outside.

Malik Ambar's most impressive achievement is undoubtedly his own tomb standing near the crest of the hill just north of Khuldabad (Fig. 53). This was completed by the time of his death in 1626. Three crisply worked recesses with lobed arches are set into each side of the building. Those in the middle are filled with jali screens displaying varied and finely cut geometric patterns (see Fig. 94). Screens also flank the doorway on the south side, but are reduced to relief carving on the west side. A line of smaller and shallower arched recesses at the top of the walls is overhung by a bold cornice on ornate brackets; corner turrets are conceived as miniature pavilions, complete with angled eaves and domical tops. Stylised palmettes embellish the parapet. The flattish dome rises on a fringe of well-articulated petals. Immediately outside the walls of the complex stands the tomb of Malik Ambar's wife, also with stone screens.

A few metres south-west of these monuments is a small but highly individual tomb, now ruined, said to be that of Malik Ambar's grandson. It consists of an octagonal domed chamber on a square plinth, with octagonal pillars standing freely at the corners. Clusters of brackets projecting from the pillars carry circular pavilions roofed with brick domes. An angled cornice running continuously around the building projects in part-circular fashion around the corner pavilions. The larger, more conventional monument to the north may have been erected by



53 Tomb of Malik Ambar, Khuldabad, 1626

one of the Nizam Shahi nobles. The tomb, which stands in a walled compound, has double tiers of triple-arched recesses, overhung by angled eaves and a parapet with corner finials. Other unidentified tombs stand near to the Ghrishneshvara temple at Ellora (see chapter 8), beneath the crest of the hill already noted. They display pierced stone screens and relief lotus medallions typical of the Nizam Shahi manner. A tomb with comparable details, including jali screens either side of the arched entrance, stands on a rise to the east of the outer fortifications at Daulatabad.

Other noteworthy examples of Nizam Shahi religious architecture are found in the outlying areas of the kingdom. The prayer hall of the Kali mosque of 1578 at Jalna, 60 kilometres east of Aurangabad, for instance, stands in a walled compound entered through an arched gate flanked by jali screens. The hall is topped with corner finials displaying fluted domical tops. Octagonal columns carry six small domes within. The adjacent hammam, completed five years later, has domed chambers on faceted pendentives. Directly opposite the mosque is a sarai with a large square court surrounded by arcaded chambers. Jalna preserves at least one interesting tomb of the period. The dargah of Zacha and Bacha has pierced screens set into arched recesses on three sides. Sculpted lotuses adorn the doorway on the south. The dome rises over a parapet with octagonal corner finials.

The Jami mosque within the fort at Parenda also dates from the Nizam Shahi period. The prayer hall stands within a high walled enclosure entered through an arched gate to the north and a domed entrance to the east. The nine aisles of the interior, each of three bays, are created by temple-like columns with blocks, capitals and brackets decorated with foliate ornament. The outer row is sheltered by angled eaves. Triple stone windows are placed in the end walls. The mihrab is created from delicately carved basalt.

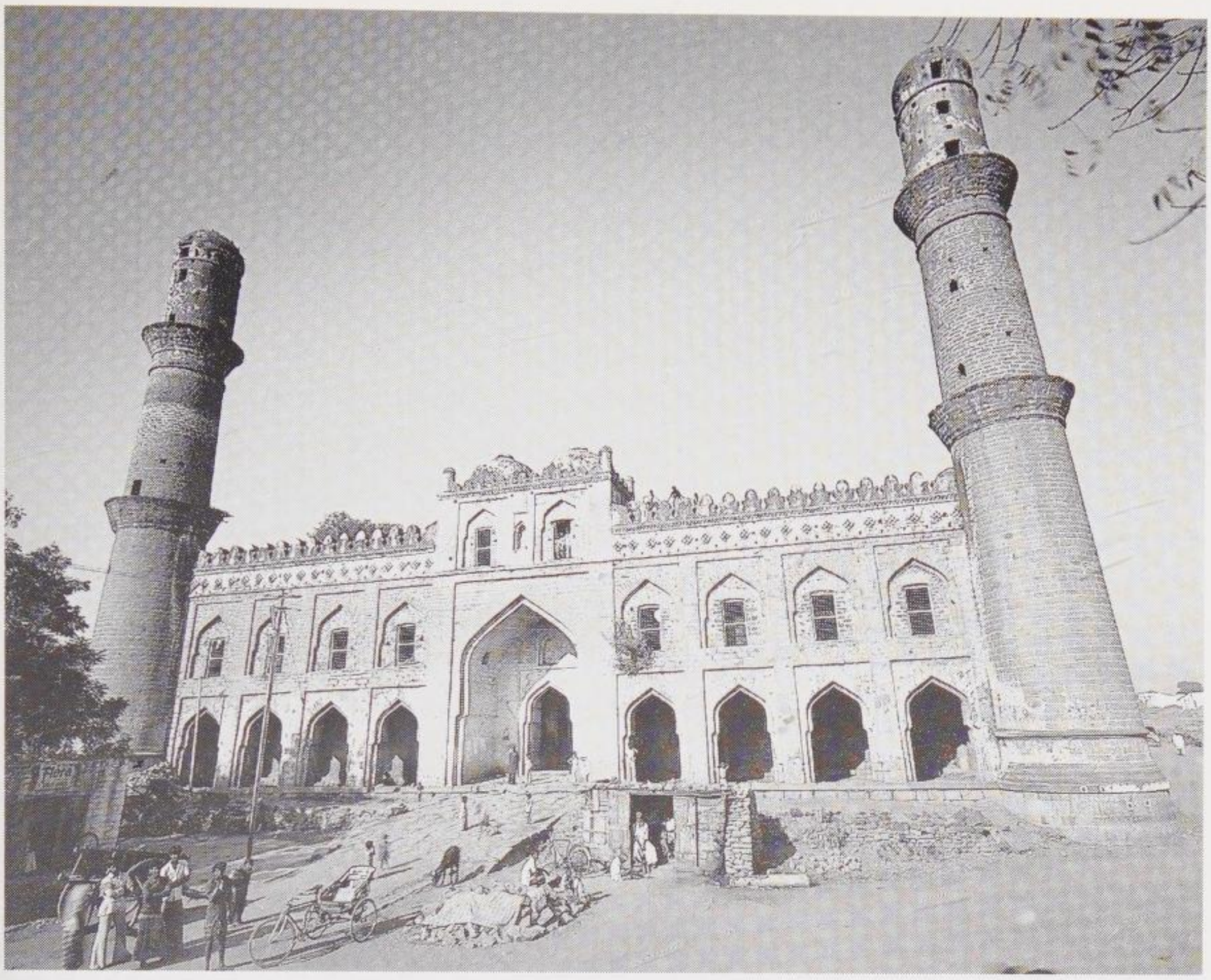
The mosque and tomb of Dilawar Khan at Rajgurunagar, formerly Khed, 45 kilometres north of Pune, are somewhat later. The patron of this complex, which dates from 1613, was a commander of the Ahmadnagar forces and distinguished himself when fighting against the Mughals. The façade of the mosque has triple arches with cusped profiles. The central two bays of the interior are unusually roofed with a single dome raised high on a sixteen-sided drum. The adjacent tomb is of conventional design, with double tiers of triple arches contrasting pointed and lobed profiles. Miniature pavilions serve as corner finials.

An unidentified tomb of large proportions, almost 17 metres square, stands on the outskirts of Junnar, 30 kilometres north of Rajgurunagar. Its outer walls show two rows of arched recesses, four larger ones below and five smaller ones above. The doorway on the south side has pilaster-like jambs and shallow eaves carried on brackets; the arched recess contains a pierced stone window. Two smaller tombs nearby are distinguished by their pyramidal vaults.

THE ADIL SHAHIS

The technical and aesthetic accomplishments of Adil Shahi religious architecture are explained by the comparatively long reigns of the Bijapur sultans, the highly developed aesthetic taste of many of these rulers and the considerable resources at their command. The intensely sculptural quality of Adil Shahi buildings reflects the contribution of local stone masons to the development of a highly individual style, descendants no doubt of local temple builders.

Prior to 1565, when the Vijayanagara threat was finally overcome, the Bijapur kings built only on an unassuming scale, except for religious sites associated with saintly personalities. Among Yusuf Adil Khan's first projects was the addition of a monumental free-standing entrance to the dargah of Shaykh Sirajuddin Junaydi at Gulbarga (Fig. 54). This monumental gate stands at one end of the street leading to the Shah Bazaar mosque. Double arcades with angled profiles flank a central portal raised slightly above the roof line. Lofty corner minarets present unadorned stone cylinders divided into three stages by balconies and capped with flattish domical tops. Similarly shaped minarets were added at about the same time to the gateway of the complex next to the dargah of Gesudaraz, also at Gulbarga. This emphasis on paired minarets is also observed at Aland, 40 kilometres north-west of Gulbarga. Two gateways, probably belonging to the time of Yusuf, define a processional path



54 Entrance to dargah of Shaykh Sirajuddin Junaydi, Gulbarga, early sixteenth century

leading to the dargah of Ladle Sahib, mentor of Gesudaraz. Each portal has a pair of unadorned cylindrical shafts capped with bulbous domes. The minarets of the outer gate show arcaded galleries at two levels.

Religious constructions at Bijapur were at first fairly limited. Asen Beg's mosque of 1513 resembles contemporary Nizam Shahi projects in the use of diminutive pavilions as corner turrets. The elevated circular drum decorated with a petalled frieze carrying the bulbous dome, however, displays typical Adil Shahi attributes. Another early monument is the idgah in the north-west quarter of the city dating from 1538. This prayer wall is flanked by tapering circular towers and projecting balconies.

Ibrahim's old Jami mosque and the mosque of Ikhlas Khan are the earliest religious structures at Bijapur to demonstrate the full range of Adil Shahi features. These triple-bay structures employ broad rounded arches in double planes, with finely worked plaster roundels in the spandrels and wing-like motifs over the apexes (see chapter 4). Brackets with pendant lotuses carry angled eaves, above which are decorated plaster parapets. Ibrahim's old Jami mosque introduces octagonal turrets, two large ones in the middle and two smaller ones at the corners, all intended to take domical finials. In Ikhlas Khan's mosque, a lofty double-stage pavilion rises

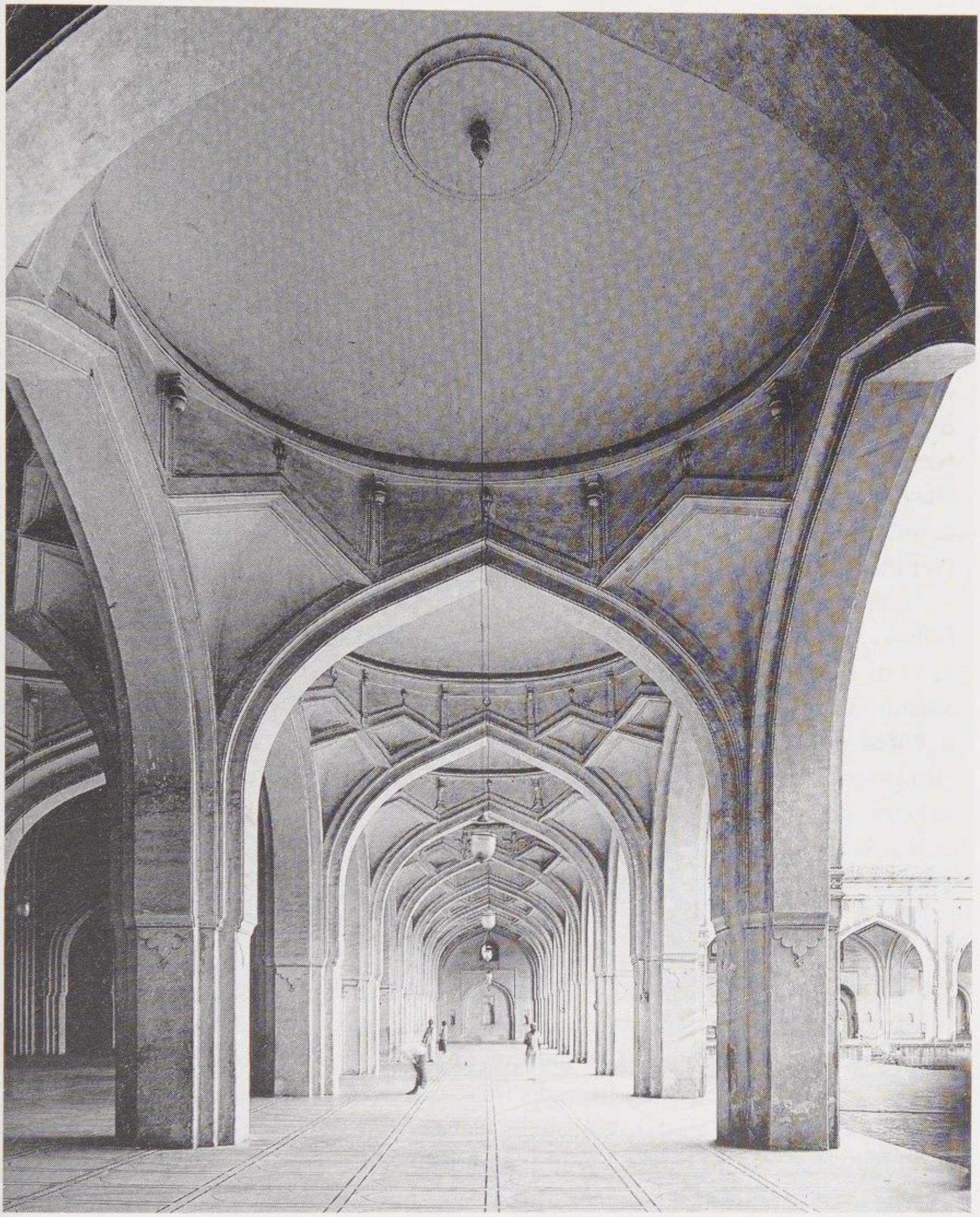
over the mihrab at the rear. Both mosques have flattish domes carried on pendentives with angled profiles.

That these schemes became current in Bijapur's architecture is evident in the Rangin mosque, a triple-bay building with a cut-out parapet running between extended corner turrets. A similar but highly decorated mosque of 1556 is associated with the tomb of Ain al-Mulk, a noble at the court of Ibrahim I, at Ainapur, 2.5 kilometres east of the city. Here there are only pot-like finials with domical tops set into the parapet. The tomb itself has double tiers of triple arches on each side, with miniature domed pavilions at the corners of the large hemispherical dome. This mausoleum contrasts markedly with the maqbara of the first Adil Shahis at Gogi, some 85 kilometres south of Gulbarga. The simple funerary monument has eight bays spanned by broad arches and roofed with flattish domes on faceted pendentives. This was evidently the model for the tomb of Ali I, the first royal mausoleum to be erected in Bijapur. Each façade presents five unadorned arches, the wider end arches corresponding to the vaulted corridor which runs around the sepulchral chamber. It is roofed unusually with three small domes carried on broad transverse arches.

Among the buildings ascribed to Ali I's reign outside the capital is the Safa Shahuri mosque of 1560 at Ponda, merely 35 kilometres south-east of the Portuguese capital at Goa. The square prayer hall, which stands on a high plinth overlooking a large tank, has its outer walls divided into arched recesses. These carry neither dome nor vault, only a sloping tiled roof on a wooden frame, in accordance with building practice in the Konkan. More conventional is the Jami mosque of the same date within the fort at Naldurg. This simple structure has arches with cusps cut into the outer plane; a fringe of lotus buds lines the central arch. Brackets with cross pieces carry the angled eaves. A dome rises on a fringe of petals.

The Jami mosque at Bijapur begun by Ali I in 1576 was never finished. Corner buttressing indicates where tall minarets would have risen. The façade of the prayer hall presents nine arches, but only the central arch has a lobed profile and medallion-on-bracket motifs in the spandrels. Overhanging eaves are carried on sculpted brackets but the parapet was never started. The hemispherical dome rising on a cubic clerestory is relieved by arcades and a pierced parapet interrupted by delicate finials with domical tops. The interior is impressive for its noble simplicity (Fig. 55). Its thirty-six bays are roofed with shallow domes on pendentives, the nine central bays covered with a single dome. Eight intersecting arches with intermediate faceted pendentives create an octagonal space over which the dome appears to float, a structural device of considerable ingenuity which appears here for the first time. The mihrab bearing an inscription of 1636 is one of the most grandly proportioned and sumptuously decorated in the Islamic world (see Colour Plate 16 and Figs. 106 and 107). It rivals the great mihrab in the tenth-century mosque at Cordoba.

A smaller, more unusual building belonging to Ali I's reign is the complex of Ali Shahid Pir. This includes a small mosque with triple arches, with rows of cusps cut



55 Interior of Jami mosque, Bijapur, begun 1576

into the outermost plane. Corner finials display from the ground upwards square, octagonal and circular sections, with domical tops on petals. The interior has a single pointed vault running parallel to the façade. The mihrab is conceived as a decagonal chamber with intersecting arches roofed with a dome protruding high above the roof. An almost similar tower-like mihrab is seen in the Kali mosque at

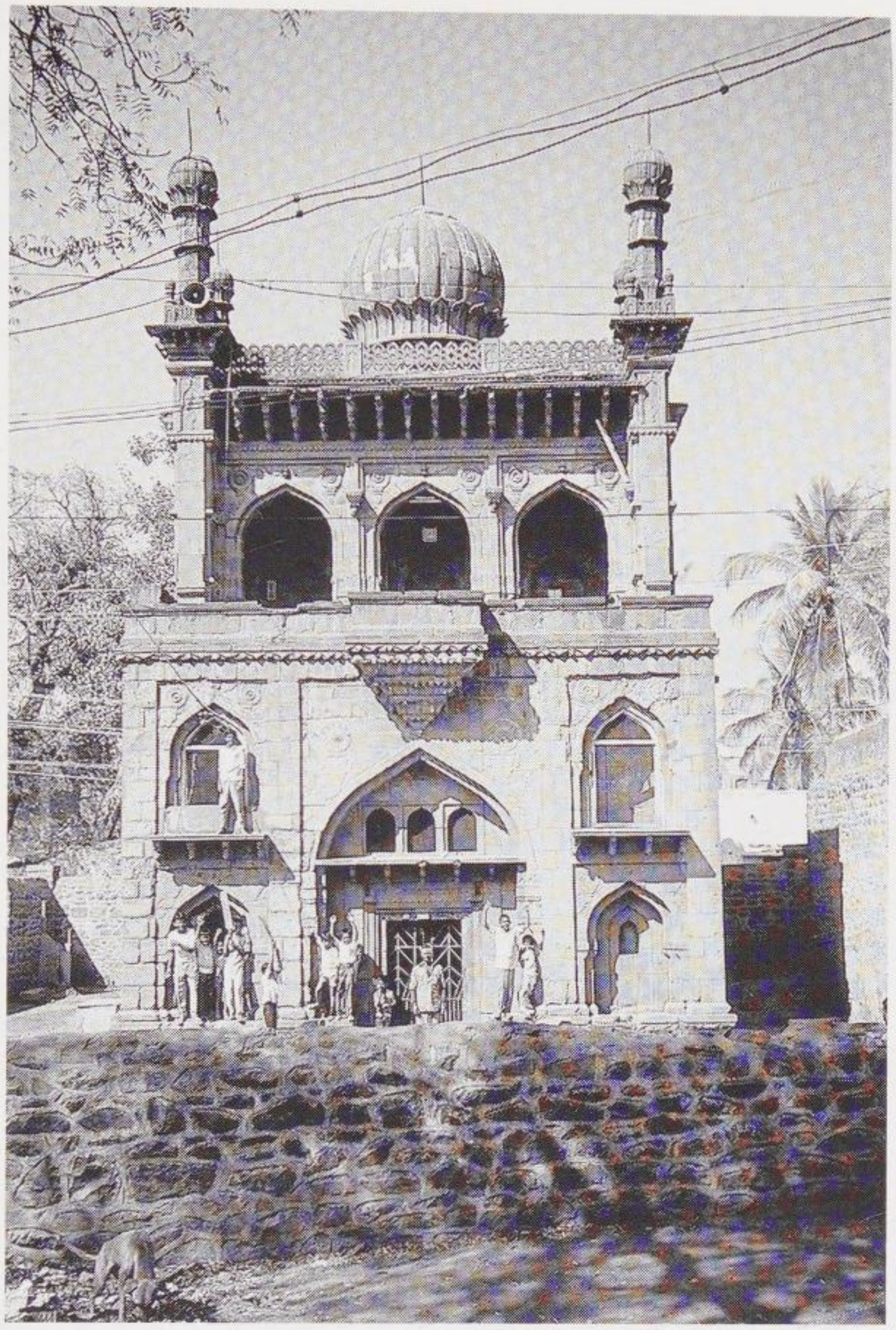
Gogi, a commission of Ibrahim II's sister. The interior of the prayer hall consists of a single chamber with a small dome suspended on eight intersecting arches.

The long reign of Ibrahim II is marked by the evolution of a more elaborate style with an emphasis on exquisite carved detail. Malika Jahan Begum's mosque, built in 1586 by the sultan in honour of his wife, is the first in this new idiom. Cut-out brackets have triple sets of curving elements richly adorned with arabesque ornament; intermediate panels are filled with medallion-on-chain motifs. Full lotuses are carved on the underside of the overhanging eaves. The pierced parapet combines interlocking elements with stylised palmettes. Intermediate pinnacles take the form of miniature pavilions, complete with arched openings filled with pierced screens, angled eaves, corner finials and hemispherical domes on petals, the last imitating in diminutive form the central dome. That this highly intricate manner was not confined to the capital is proved by the Kali mosque at Lakshmeshwar, a small town some 200 kilometres south of Bijapur. Its lavish decoratation includes stone chains hanging from the corner minarets. The entrance gateway to the complex rivals the prayer hall in the elaboration of its ornamention.

In Bijapur one building of curious design, the Anda mosque of 1608 (Fig. 56), follows the two-storey Kali mosque at Ahmadnagar mentioned earlier. The lower level of the Bijapur example is occupied by a walled sarai with a central portal surrounded by four lesser windows. The upper level which serves as a prayer hall has a fluted dome raised high on a sixteen-sided arcaded drum. Another unusual composition is the Chhoti mosque of 1614 in Akalkot. The façade of this single-bay mosque presents a broad curving arch with lobes cut into the outer frame. This contains a pierced stone screen into which is set the actual entrance framed by a smaller arch. The octagonal minarets at either side were never finished.

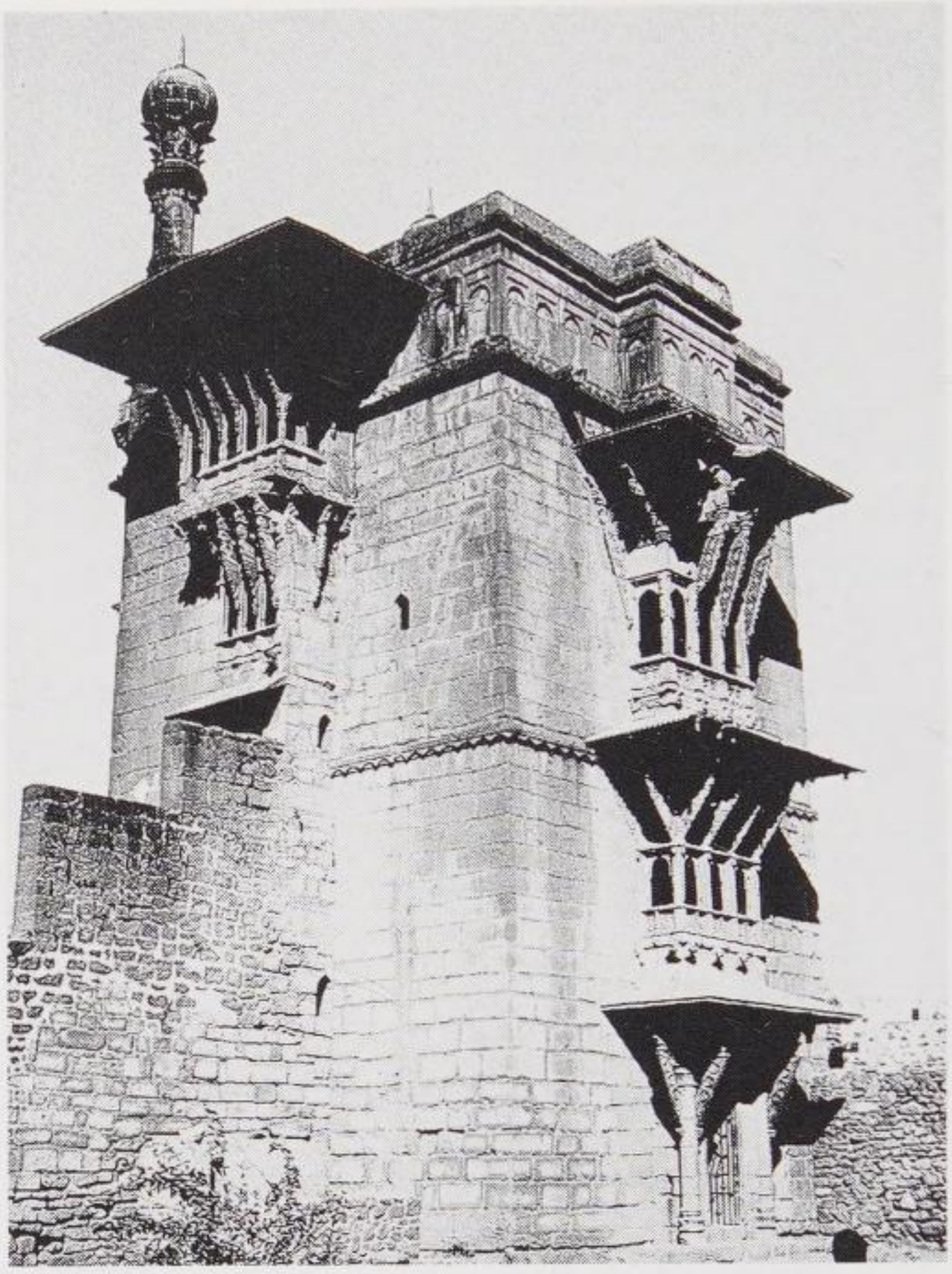
The Mihtar-i Mahal at Bijapur, another work assigned to the period of Ibrahim II, consists of a small mosque entered through a multi-storeyed gateway (Fig. 57). The latter is remarkable for the projecting balconies of arched openings supported on carved angled struts (see Fig. 96). Slender finials with bulbous domes at the summits flank the exterior. The mosque of the Mihtar-i Mahal also makes use of angled struts. Together with brackets these carry the eaves and the ornate cut-out parapet above (see Fig. 95). Unusually slender minarets flank the façade of Nau Gumbad, the only mosque to combine multiple domes and pyramidal vaults.

The most splendid monument of Ibrahim II's reign is the complex named after him (Figs. 58 and 59). It stands outside the walls on the west side of Bijapur. The Ibrahim Rauza was originally intended for Taj Sultana, Ibrahim's queen, but was later converted into a mausoleum for the sultan and his family. The scheme as completed in 1626 consists of a paired tomb and mosque. These are elevated on a common plinth and set in the middle of a large formal garden, about 140 metres square. Steps on the north and south reached by raised pathways ascend to the plinth. The tomb has a central chamber, almost 13 metres square, roofed by a horizontal vault divided into nine squares with curved sides. The outer walls are



56 Anda mosque, Bijapur, 1698

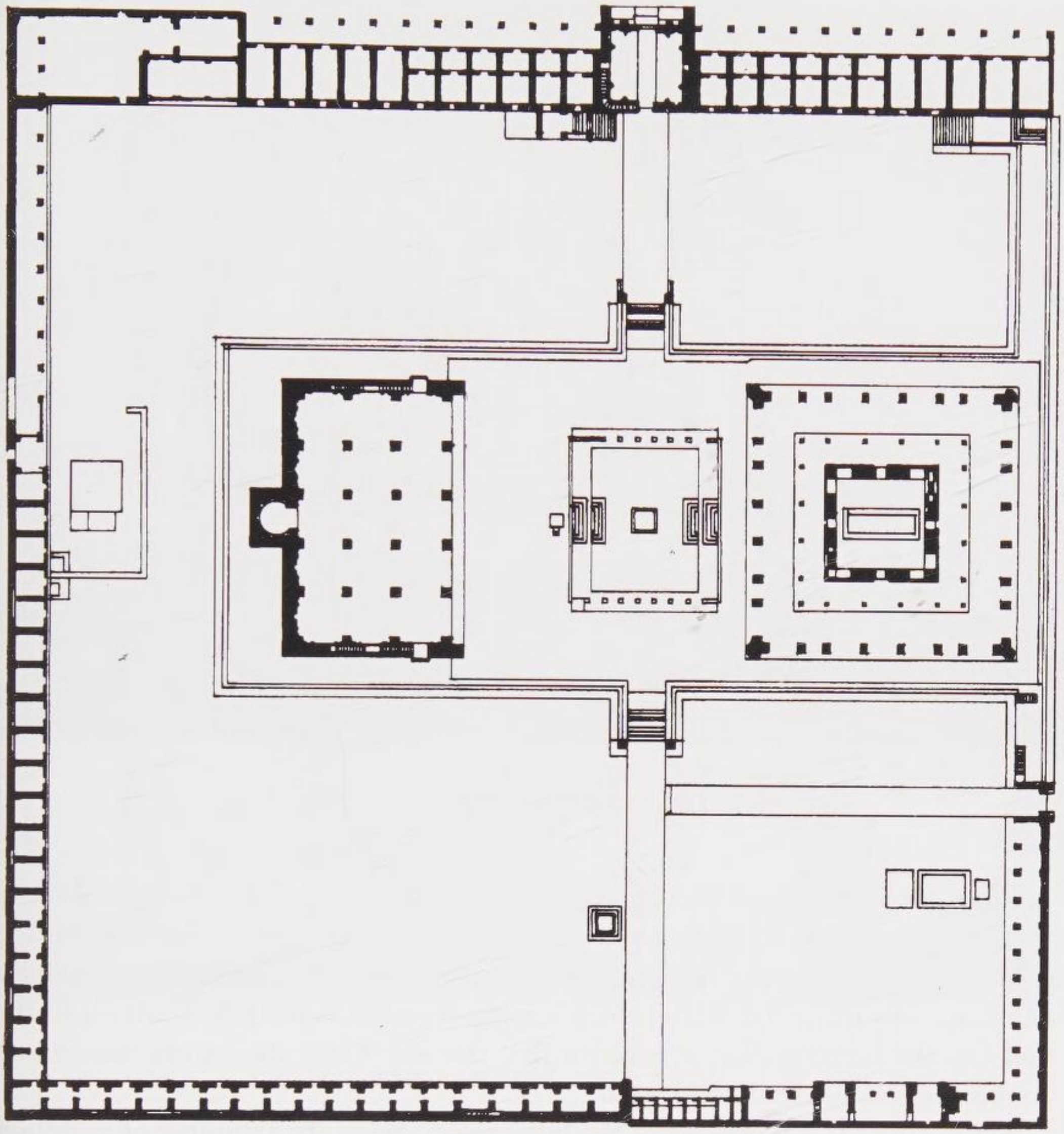
covered with panels of geometric and calligraphic designs, executed both as shallow relief and as perforated screens (Fig. 60, see also Figs. 92 and 93). These motifs adorn the doorways, as well as the windows admitting light to the sepulchral chamber. Arches of uneven spacing with corbels support the flat roof of the surrounding verandah. The exterior presents a pyramid of turrets and finials, crowned with a three-quarter sphere raised high on a frieze of petals. The eaves and cornice over the arches of the verandah wrap around the corner octagonal buttresses; stone chains for lamps once hung from the eaves. Finials have miniature arcaded storeys, cornices and bulbous domes (Fig. 61). The mosque, which faces east towards the tomb, echoes many of these features, though at a slightly smaller



57 Gate to Mihtar-i Mahal, Bijapur, early seventeenth century

scale. Corner buttresses are carried beyond the roof line as slender minarets. Arcaded balconies project from the side walls of the prayer chamber.

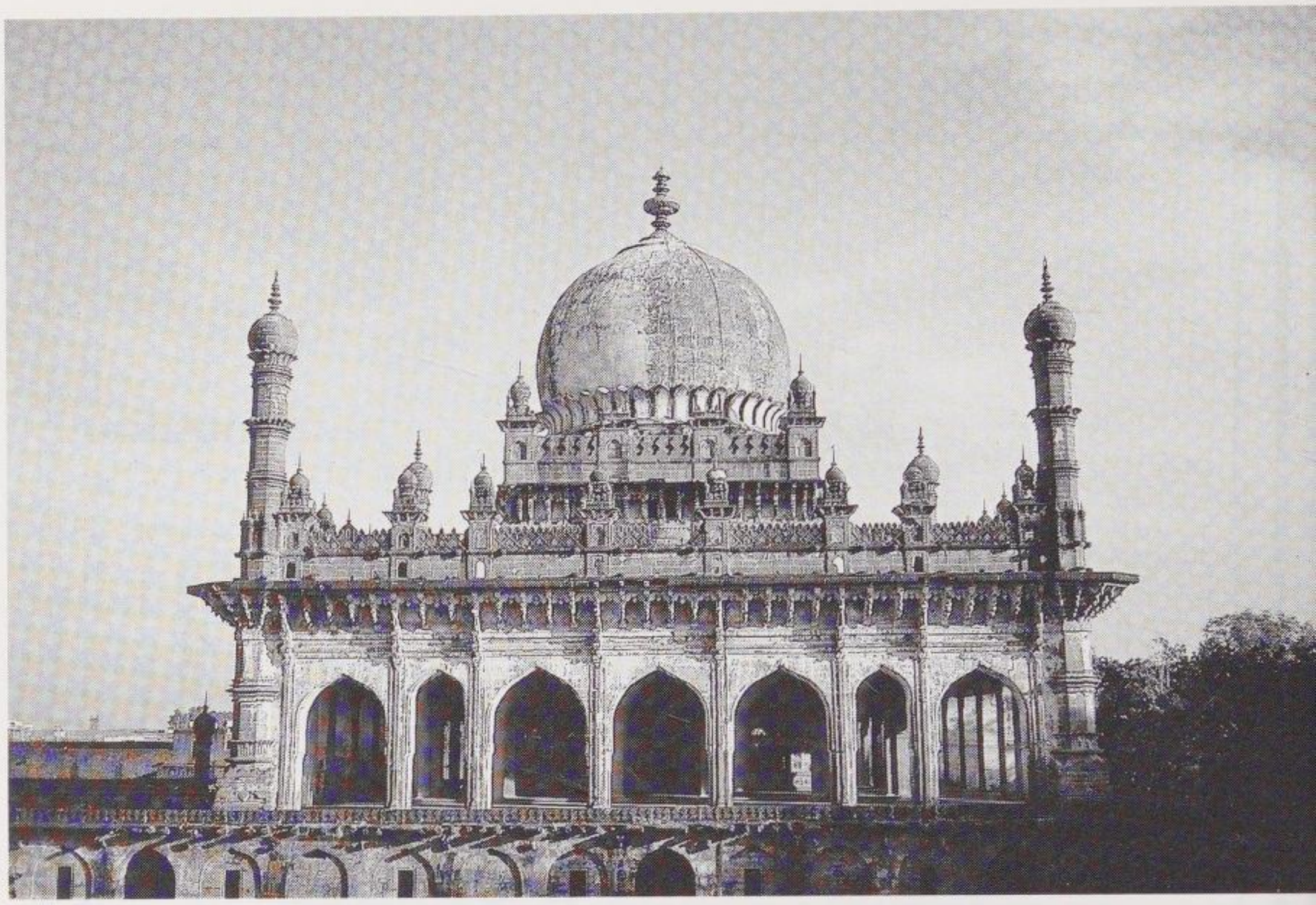
If the Ibrahim Rauza is the most exquisite monument at Bijapur, then the grandest is the mausoleum of Muhammad Adil Shah, known as the Gol Gumbad (Figs. 62 and 63). Though the tomb is the structural triumph of Deccan architecture, it is impressively simple in design, with a hemispherical dome, nearly 44 metres in external diameter, resting on a cubical volume measuring 47.5 metres on each side. The dome is supported internally by eight intersecting arches created by two rotated squares that create interlocking pendentives, a device first noticed in the Jami mosque. The austere quality of the interior accentuates the structural virtuosity. A cenotaph slab in the floor marks the true grave in the basement, the only instance of this practice in Adil Shahi architecture. A large half-octagonal bay projects outwards in the middle of the west side. The exterior is majestic, with triple sets of arched recesses on three sides. Medallion-on-bracket motifs are etched into the plasterwork of the spandrels (see Fig. 79). The central recesses are filled with stone screens pierced by doorways and windows. Horizontal eaves extending outwards for more than 3 metres are supported on tiers of sculpted brackets and surmounted by an arcade and trefoil parapet. Octagonal corner towers have open



58 Plan of Ibrahim Rauza, Bijapur, 1626
(tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah II and associated mosque)

stages marked by arcades concealing interior staircases. They are topped by bulbous domes on petalled bases imitating the great dome that hovers over the central mass, acting as a climax to the whole composition.

An inscription over the south door of the Gol Gumbad gives the date of Muhammad's death as 1656, presumably when construction stopped; the attached

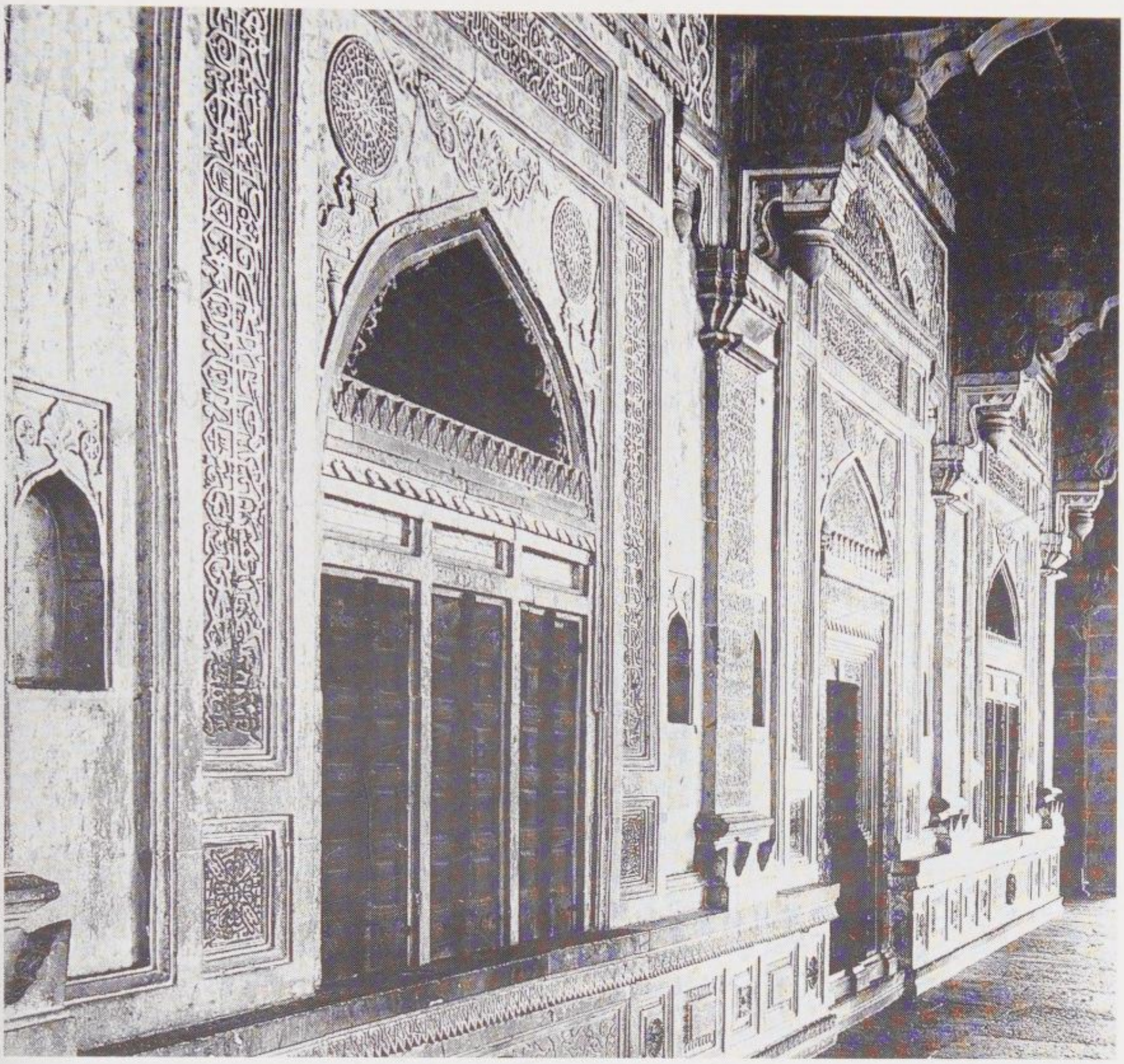


59 Tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah II, 1626

mosque, for example, has no parapet. Its restrained façade of five arches is flanked by slender minarets with the usual domical turrets. The garden gateway of the complex has an arcaded gallery for drummers and musicians. The tomb of Muhammad's queen Jahan Begum at nearby Ainapur is virtually identical to the Gol Gumbad, except that it is about half the size. Only the corner turrets and connecting arcades were completed.

Among the lesser monuments of Muhammad's reign are a number of buildings associated with the Adil Shahi nobility. Mustafa Khan's mosque of 1641 has an unusually large central arch flanked by two narrow ones. The tomb of Shah Nawaz Khan, who died in 1647, is a small open structure. Its central chamber is surrounded by arcaded bays with an intermediate storey to elevate the dome. The insistence on verticality often leads to a loss of harmonious proportions. The tomb of Afzal Khan, Muhammad's prime minister who died in 1653, is located 4 kilometres north-west of the city. It also suffers from a disproportionately high dome. The adjacent mosque has two storeys, the upper level duplicating the hall beneath, though without a stone mimbar.

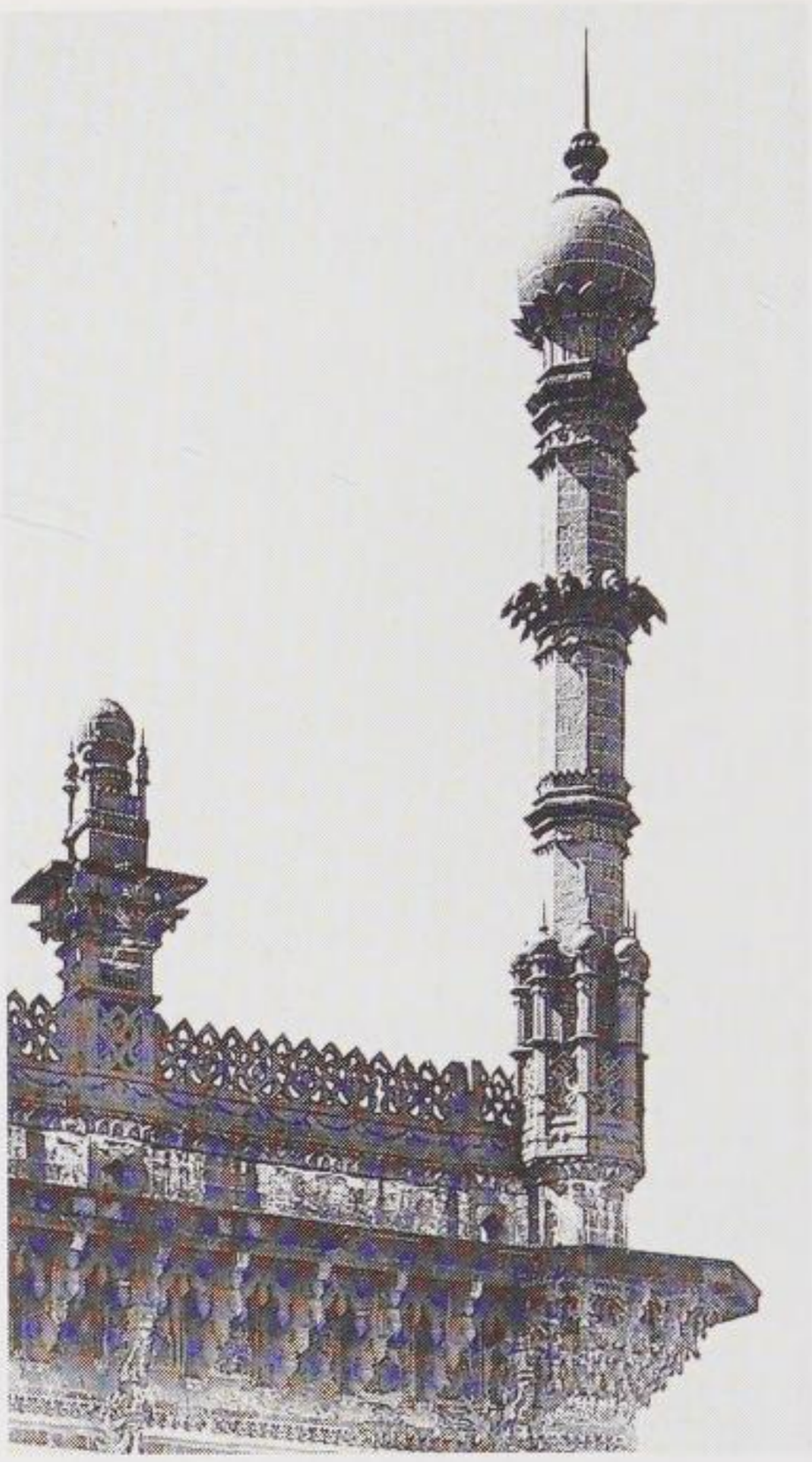
Afzal Khan was also responsible for a tomb and mosque at Afzalpur, 80 kilometres north-east of Bijapur. The unadorned triple arches of the prayer hall contrast with the pierced parapet and pavilion-like finials. Another work of this patron is the finely detailed mosque in an outer court of the dargah of Hazrat



60 Verandah, tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah II

Gesudaraz at Gulbarga. This small structure is provided with overhanging eaves carried on carved brackets, with the usual array of finials and slender corner minarets. The immense double-curved arch that springs from the pair of five-stage square towers at the corners of the same court seems to be a contemporary construction. The spandrels have unusual roundels containing heraldic animals on curving brackets, all in shallow relief. (The pavilion with a curved bangla roof standing freely beneath is an insertion of the Mughal period.)

Outlying monuments of the Bijapur kingdom are sometimes built in more sober versions of the Adil Shahi style. An example is the tomb of Abdul Wahhab Khan, governor of Kurnool, 275 kilometres south-east of the capital, dating from 1639. The central domed chamber has pierced stone windows on three sides. It is surrounded by a spacious verandah roofed with domes and shallow vaults. The outer walls have arched openings of different widths. They are capped with the

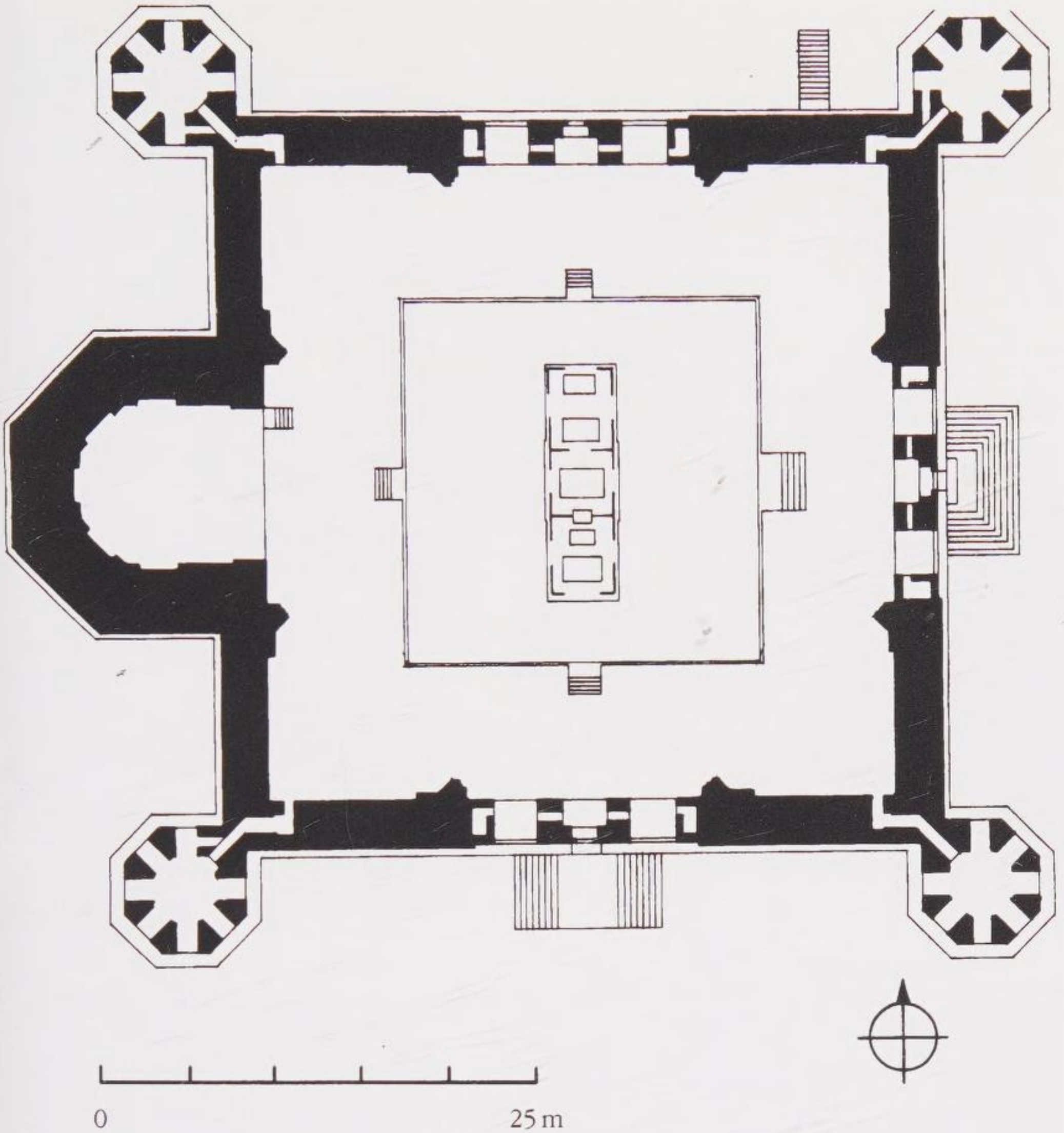


61 Finial, tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah II

usual eaves on sculpted brackets and crenellated parapet. The dome with a petalled neck rising on a circular drum has a quartet of pavilion-like turrets repeating those at the corners of the walls beneath.

The tomb of Ali II at Bijapur, left unfinished at the death of the sultan in 1672, is the last major building project of the Adil Shahis. It stands on a high plinth larger in area than that of the Gol Gumbad. The finished portions present an imposing line of gently pointed arches, seven on each side, surrounding the central square chamber. The undated Mecca mosque within the citadel, also assigned to the reign of Ali II, is surrounded by high walls, suggesting that it may have been intended for courtly women (Fig. 64). Its prayer hall consists of a hemispherical dome carried on eight intersecting arches surrounded by an arcade, open only on the east. A pair of large minarets devoid of any decoration is incorporated into the compound walls.

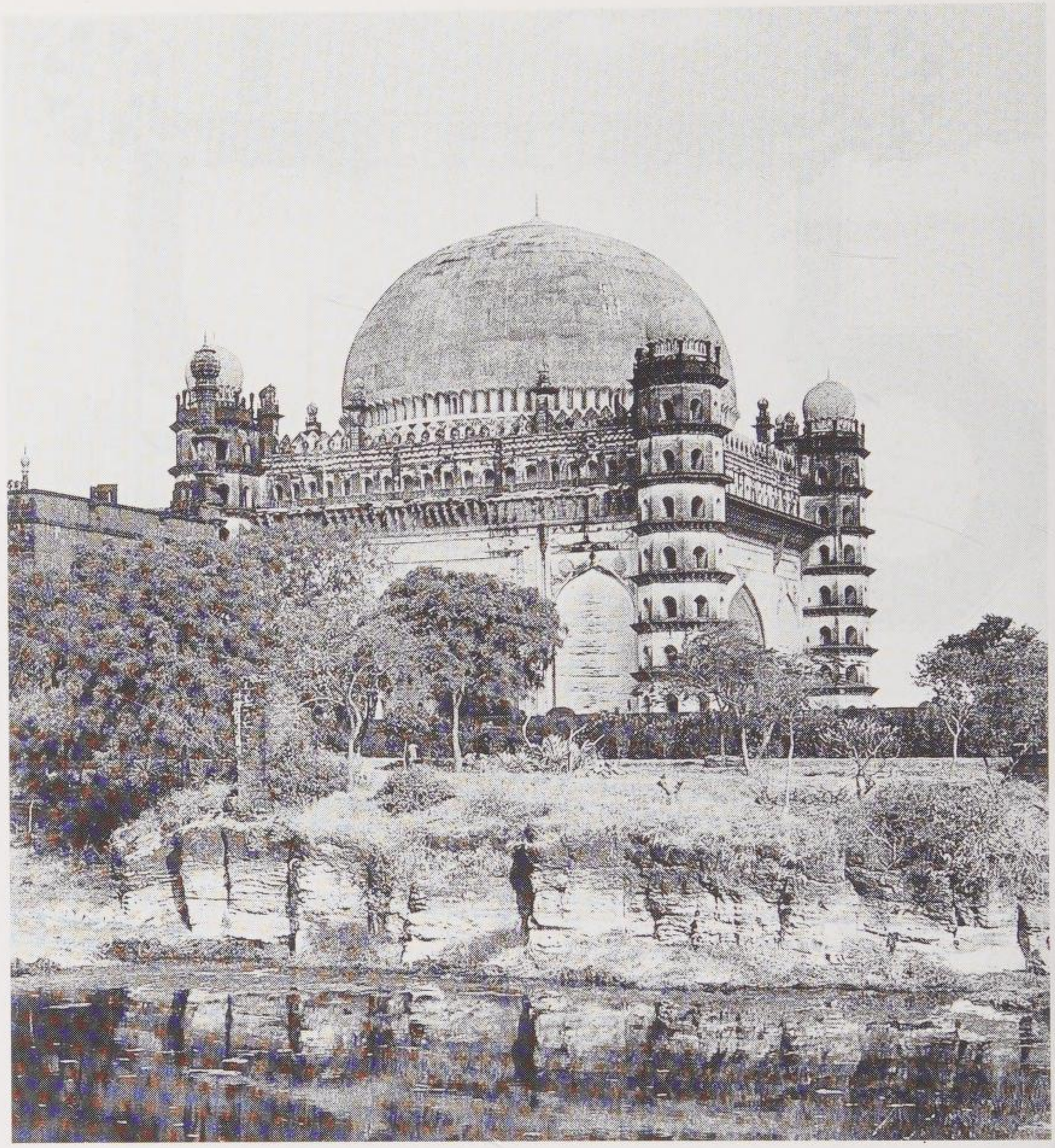
The Jor Gumbad, another late Adil Shahi monument at Bijapur, comprises a pair of tombs of similar shape and size which house the remains of the commander Khan Muhammad and his spiritual advisor Abdul Razzaq Qadiri. Both buildings are octagonal, with tall elegant façades capped with cornices on brackets and corner finials with domical tops. Three-quarter spherical domes have prominent petalled flutings at their base. A contemporary building is Allah Babu's mosque south-west



62 Plan of Gol Gumbad, Bijapur, 1656

of the Gol Gumbad. This is unusually surmounted by a roof-top chamber roofed with a small dome on a constricted petalled neck.

That imposing monuments were still being constructed during the last years of the Bijapur kingdom is demonstrated in the Jami mosque at Adoni, 200 kilometres south-west of Bijapur (Fig. 65). This is the work of Masud Khan, governor of Sikander Adil Shah, who retired here in 1683. The complex is entered through a monumental gate incorporating narrow minarets. The prayer hall of twenty-five bays, with alternating vaults and shallow domes, displays the usual arcades, overhanging eaves, cut-out trefoil parapet and intermediate domical pinnacles. Flanking minarets of slender proportions are decorated with stone chains. The dome,

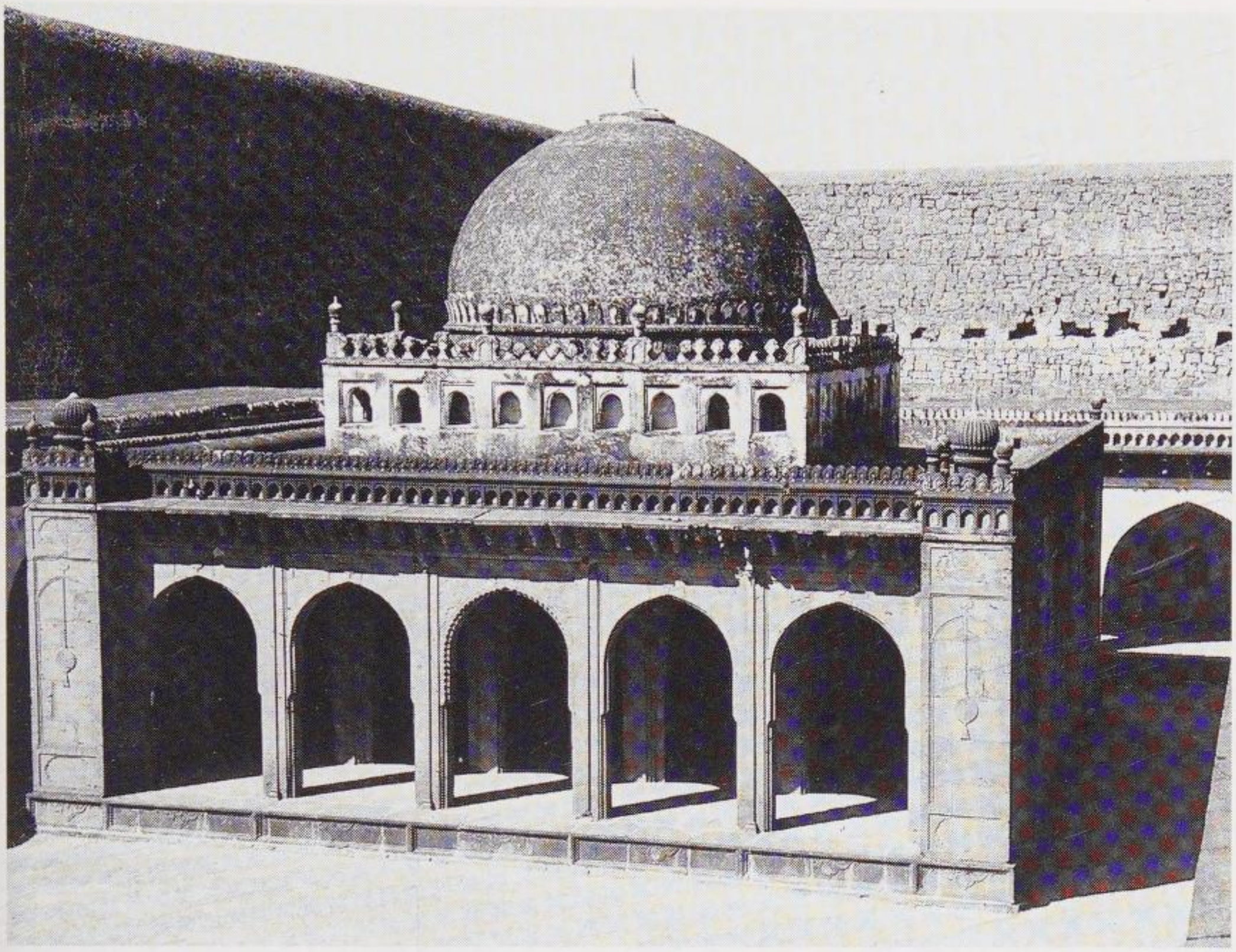


63 Gol Gumbad

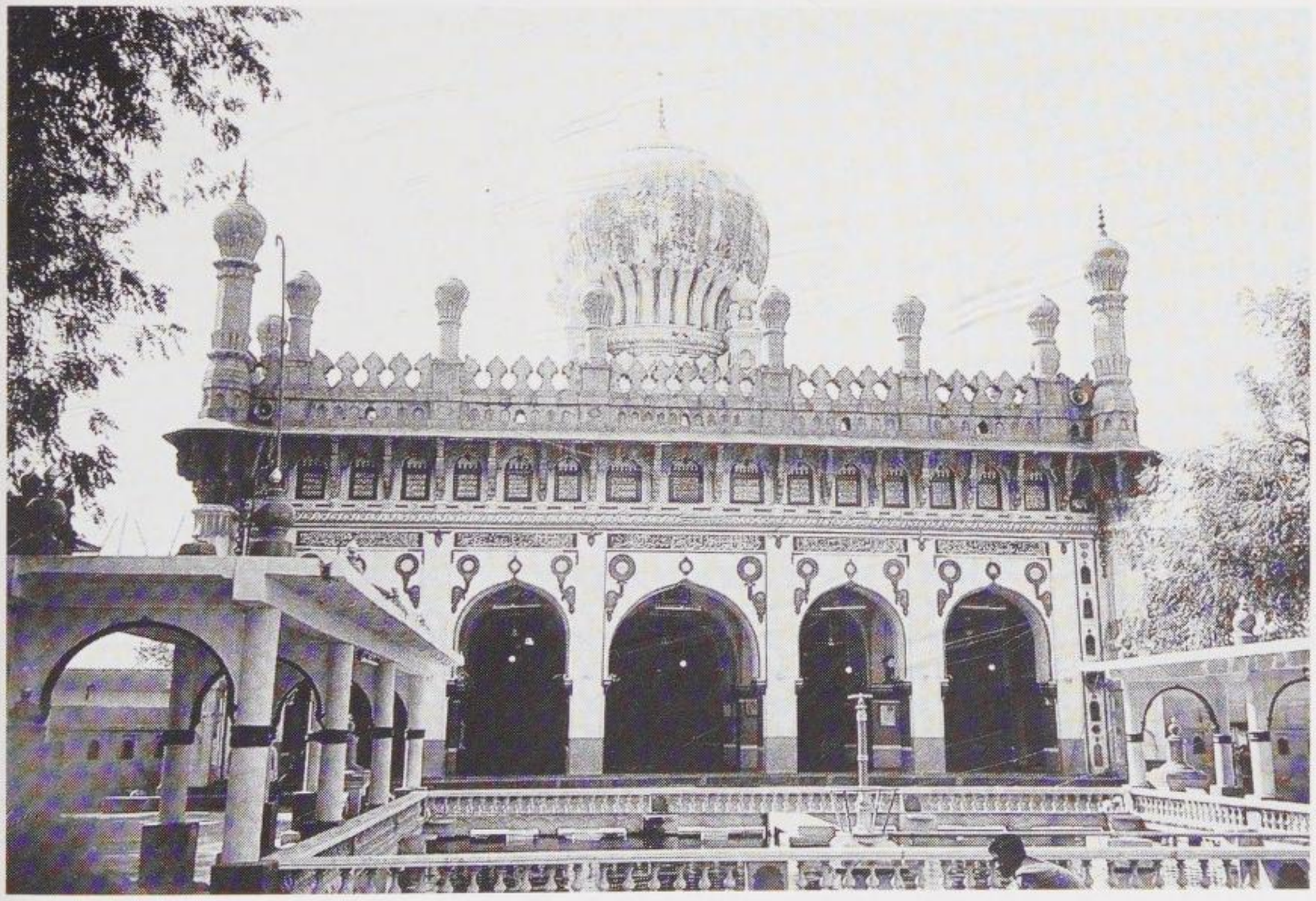
much diminished in proportion, rises on a high petalled neck. Side doorways within the hall are surrounded by panels and elaborate pediments.

THE QUTB SHAHIS

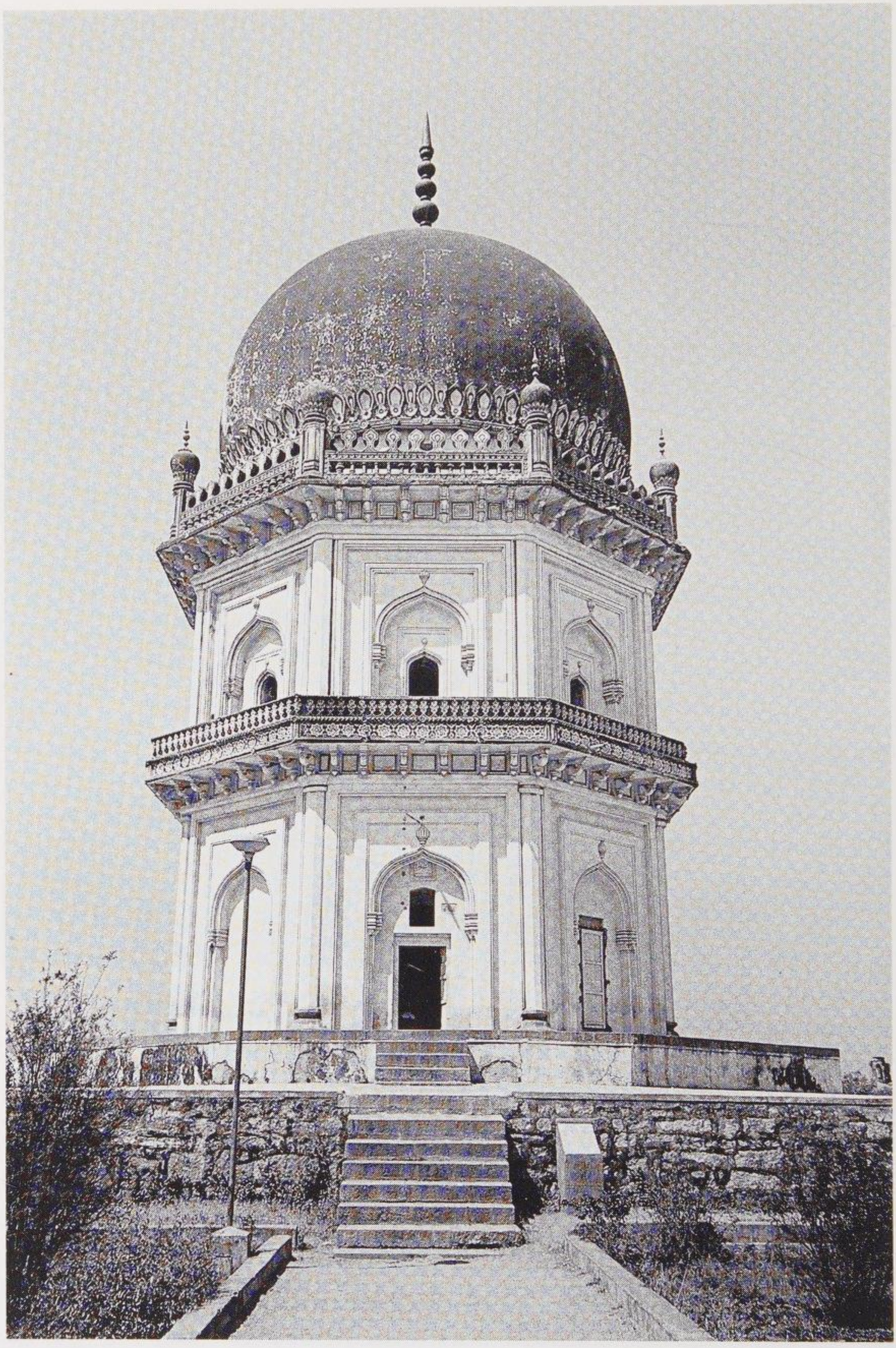
Like the religious architecture of the Adil Shahis, that of the Qutb Shahis begins modestly; here, however, the predominant external finish is moulded plaster rather than carved stone. The Jami mosque at Golconda was erected by Quli Qutb al-Mulk in 1518 next to the ceremonial portals that announce the entrance to the fort (see chapter 2). The courtyard in which the mosque stands is entered on the east



64 Mecca mosque, Bijapur, late seventeenth century



65 Jami mosque, Adoni, late seventeenth century



66 Tomb of Jamshid Qutb Shah, Golconda, 1550

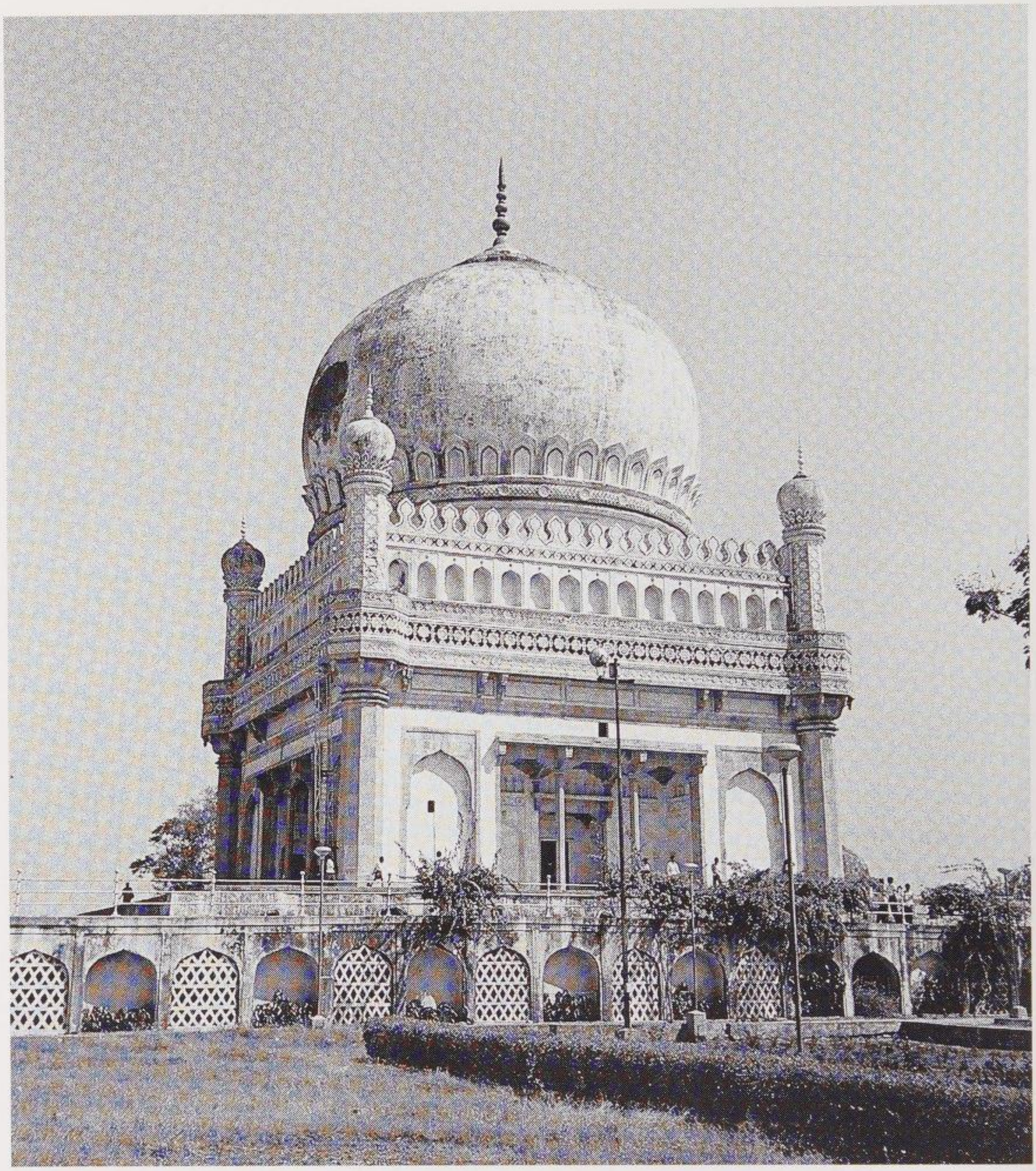
side through a domed gate incorporating a reused temple doorway and a finely carved inscription. The prayer hall is a simple structure of fifteen bays roofed with both flattish domes and curved vaults. Its five-arched façade is surmounted by a parapet of interlocking battlements running between corner miniature pavilions and a single dome. The curved mihrab has a fine calligraphic panel. Quli Qutb al-Mulk's mausoleum in the royal necropolis 600 metres north of the fort walls at Golconda is a similarly modest structure with three recessed arches on each side topped with a hemispherical dome.

The fully developed Golconda style appears somewhat suddenly in the middle of the sixteenth century, as in the tomb of Jamshid Qutb Shah (Fig. 66). This double-height octagonal chamber, the only mausoleum of this shape at Golconda, is relieved by superimposed arched recesses and projecting balconies with ornate balustrades. Finials cluster around the petalled neck of the dome of slightly bulbous form. The adjacent tomb of Ibrahim Qutb Shah recalls earlier Bahmani schemes, with its double tiers of arched recesses outlined in stone borders. Remains of excellent cut tilework are seen in the surrounding bands. The trefoil parapet has small domical finials at its corners. Cut-out sinuous elements ornament the base at each corner. The same sultan seems also to have been responsible for the Taramati mosque within the first enclosure of the palace area (see chapter 2). The triple-arched façade is raised on a substructure of arched cells. The parapet above is missing its plaster screens, but the parapet of trefoil battlements survives. Ibrahim's mosque, named after its royal patron, just beneath the summit of the fort, has a modest prayer hall of three bays flanked by slender minarets.

The accession of Muhammad Quli signals a more ambitious phase in Qutb Shahi religious architecture. The Jami mosque in between the Char Minar and the southern arch of the Char Karman in Hyderabad was erected in 1597 by Amir al-Mulk, a prominent noble at the court. The prayer hall presents seven arched openings surmounted by secondary arches with cut-out lobed profiles (plain over the central arch). This upper tier of arches is carried on fluted curved brackets projecting outwards from the wall. Minarets rising on octagonal corner buttresses have cut-out colonettes framing the topmost circular stage. An unusual feature of the interior is the rectangular vault over the bay immediately in front of the mihrab.

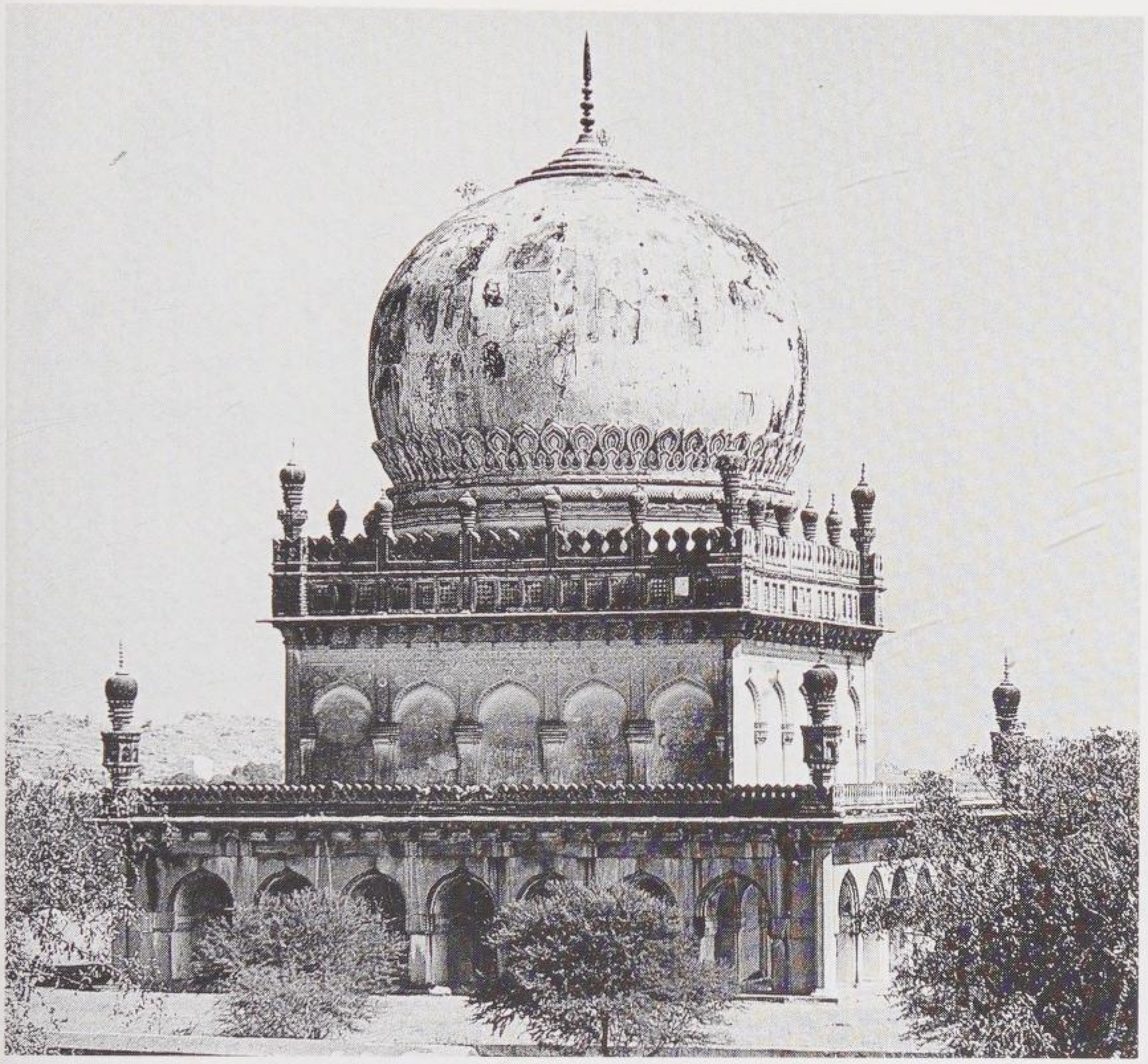
Muhammad Quli's own mausoleum is the only one at Golconda to be raised on a vaulted substructure accommodating the actual grave. The tomb itself is a single-storeyed building with recessed bays in the middle of each side to accommodate deep porticos with slender timber-like columns and brackets (Fig. 67). The deeply cut and partly pierced cornice with a frieze of medallions also runs around the part-octagonal corner buttresses. Corner finials above have geometric designs on their octagonal shafts and domical tops with double tiers of petals. The slightly bulbous dome that crowns the whole composition has a strongly developed petalled base. Inside, the dome is carried on eight arches giving sixteen intersecting profiles.

The Qutb Shahi style attains its grandest expression during the reign of Muham-



67 Tomb of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, Golconda, 1611

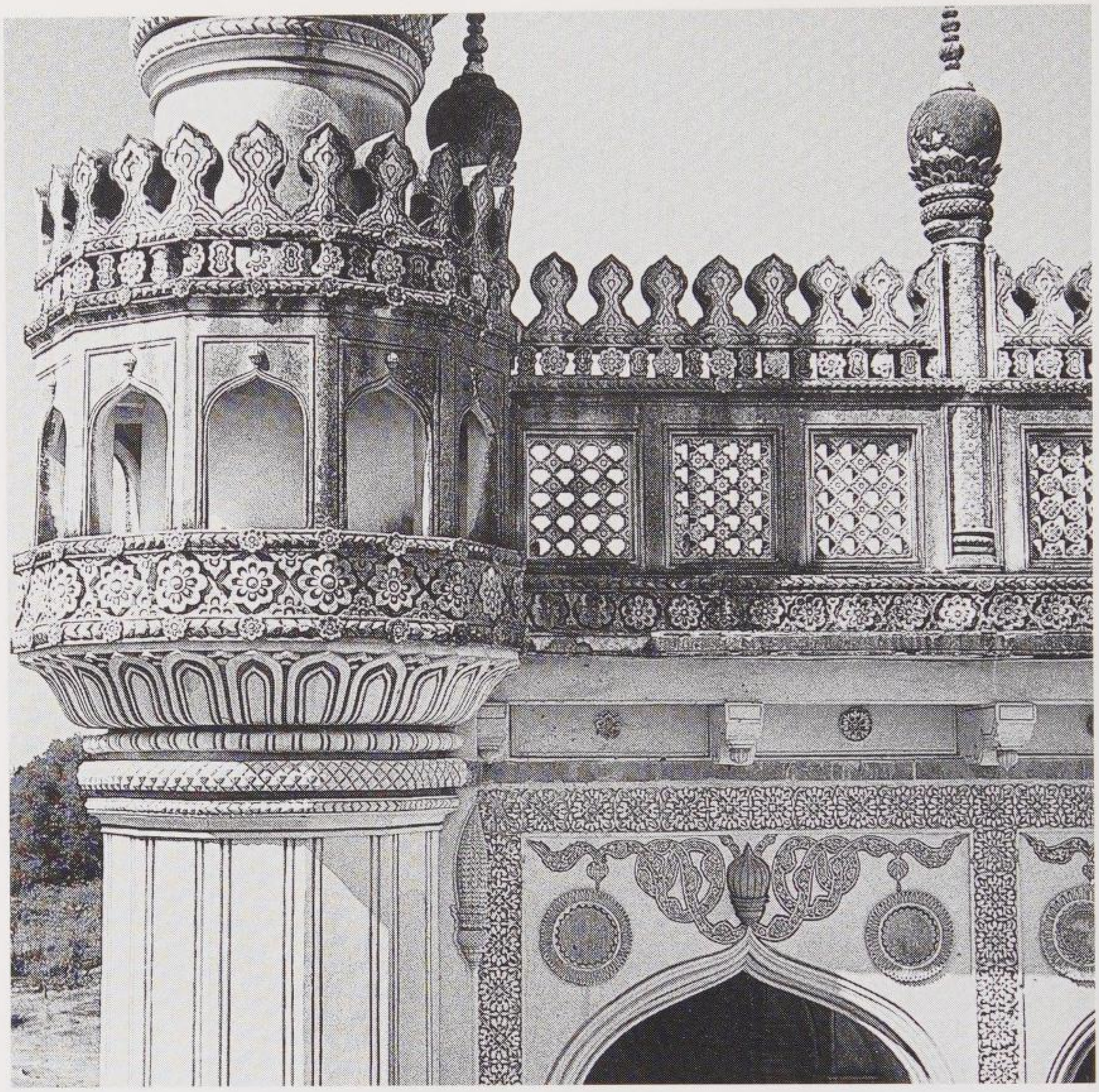
mad. The Mecca mosque in Hyderabad, begun in 1617 but not completed until 1693, is the major project of the period. Built wholly of dressed stone, its prayer hall has five aisles, three bays deep. The domical ceilings of the bays are carried on pendentives, except for the central bay which has a flat roof with curved sides. The combination of lofty arches and a reduced cornice gives the 67-metre-long façade a light appearance in spite of its vast scale. Circular corner minarets have octagonal arcaded balconies at parapet level, but were never carried higher. (Their capping domes are Mughal additions.) Another instance of Muhammad's somewhat severe style is the idgah built on the south-eastern fringe of Hyderabad. Its five-bay prayer



68 Tomb of Muhammad Qutb Shah, Golconda, 1626

hall is surmounted by a line of lobed arches and a prominent parapet. The façade is framed by massive minarets of stunted proportions with intermediate twelve-sided arcaded galleries. Muhammad's own tomb at Golconda presents an imposing pyramidal composition (Fig. 68). The central chamber is surrounded by a spacious arcaded gallery with seven openings on each side. The upper storey has five deep recesses on each side. A parapet of plain battlements runs between the octagonal corner buttresses. The almost spherical dome, rising on enlarged and fully modelled petals decorated with tiles in trefoil panels, attains an overall height of more than 50 metres.

The sculptural aspect of Qutb Shahi religious architecture reaches its zenith during the long reign of Abdullah. Deeply modelled plasterwork enlivens arches and galleries, while pierced plaster screens are set into cornices and parapets. Mosque façades become narrower and more vertical in proportion, owing to the increased height of multi-stage minarets. The most important examples of this exuberant style are scattered around the Hyderabad area. Khairati Begum's mos-



69 Parapet detail, mosque of Hayat Bakshi Begum, Golconda, 1666

que, some 4 kilometres north of the Char Minar, completed in 1626 by the daughter of Muhammad Qutb Shah for her tutor Akhund Mulla Abdul Malik, is a large and ornate building. The triple arches of the façade have motifs of ribbed fruit at the apexes with tassels at either side. Deeply incised geometric patterns of different designs cover the upper two stages of the minarets. The domical tops resting on petals are repeated in miniature form in the finials that interrupt the cut-out interlocking battlements of the parapet. The mosque of Hayat Bakshi Begum in the Golconda necropolis, a foundation of Muhammad's queen, dates from 1666. This building also exhibits the decorative refinement typical of the era (Fig. 69). The five-arched façade shows ribbed fruit, incised tassels and medallions with calligraphy framed by foliate bands. The parapet displays a frieze of deeply cut flowers, a line of cut-out geometric screens set between octagonal finials and a

70 Toli mosque, Hyderabad, 1671

parapet of trefoil elements. Both frieze and parapet run around the twelve-sided arcaded galleries protruding from the corner minarets.

These decorative tendencies reach their climax in the exuberant yet elegant Toli mosque of 1671, situated midway between Golconda and Hyderabad (Fig. 70). The five-arched façade of the prayer chamber, its central arch emphasised by lobes, is enlivened with incised tassels and superb calligraphic medallions. The eaves are carried on finely worked brackets and beams. The line of pierced screens above is topped with a double parapet of arcades and battlements separated by curved brackets. Triple sets of galleries on the minarets, the central gallery provided with an additional balcony, are decorated with deeply modelled foliate elements. The interior of the Toli mosque is divided into an outer hall with five bays roofed with a flat transverse ceiling and an inner hall with flattish domes over three bays. Raised balconies set into the end walls of the outer hall show triple arcades, eaves and parapets.

Another noteworthy foundation assigned to Abdullah's reign is the mosque at Mushirabad, 6 kilometres north of the Char Minar. The five-bay façade of the prayer hall is topped with a gallery with lobed arches carried on projecting brackets. Cut-out interlocking elements are interrupted by finials with tiers of buds, ribbed

motifs and miniature bulbous domes. The minarets are ornamented with fully modelled plasterwork. The bottom stages show bold curvilinear petal-like motifs; the twelve-sided intermediate stages have their corners marked by lotus buds, while the circular top stages display bold geometric patterns. Arcaded galleries between the two uppermost stages are carried on tiers of petals and buds. The minarets are crowned by ribbed domical finials.

Compared with the decorative vitality of mosque architecture during this period, contemporary tomb design is relatively restrained. The sultan's own mausoleum standing outside the main gate of the Golconda group is a nobly proportioned structure recalling the tombs of his predecessors. The lower storey has seven arches, the upper storey five; finials mark the corners and intermediate points. The façade is decorated with richly worked plaster and tilework. The nearby tomb of Hayat Bakshi Begum, who died in 1666, repeats some of the motifs on the adjacent mosque, already mentioned. The interior of the mausoleum contains subtle plaster modelling which contrasts curved and lobed profiles in the arched recesses. Of greater originality is the tomb of Mian Mishk, officer of Abul Hasan, who died in 1676. This monument stands within a compound together with a mosque, hammam and sarai on the north side of the old bridge crossing the Musi north-west of the Char Minar. Not unlike the earlier mausoleum of Muhammad Quli, Mian Mishk's tomb also employs timber-like columns and brackets. In this example, however, these columns create a colonnade that wraps around the small domed chamber, partly concealing the triple-arched entrances on each side. A similar colonnade runs around the tomb chamber of Hazrat Syed Shah Raju, a saint who died in 1684 and was then interred at a site a short distance west of the Char Minar. This structure, which presents a prominent bulbous dome on a high drum rising above a cubical chamber, dispenses with the usual complement of arcaded storeys and domical finials.

Qutb Shahi religious architecture is not entirely restricted to the area immediately around Golconda and Hyderabad, but mosques and tombs in outlying centres, such as in the fort at Udayagiri, are generally of little merit. An exception is the Jami mosque at Gandikota which represents the mature Qutb Shahi style at its best (Fig. 71). Circular minarets with double sets of galleries flank a modest triple-bay façade with the usual double cornice and parapet.

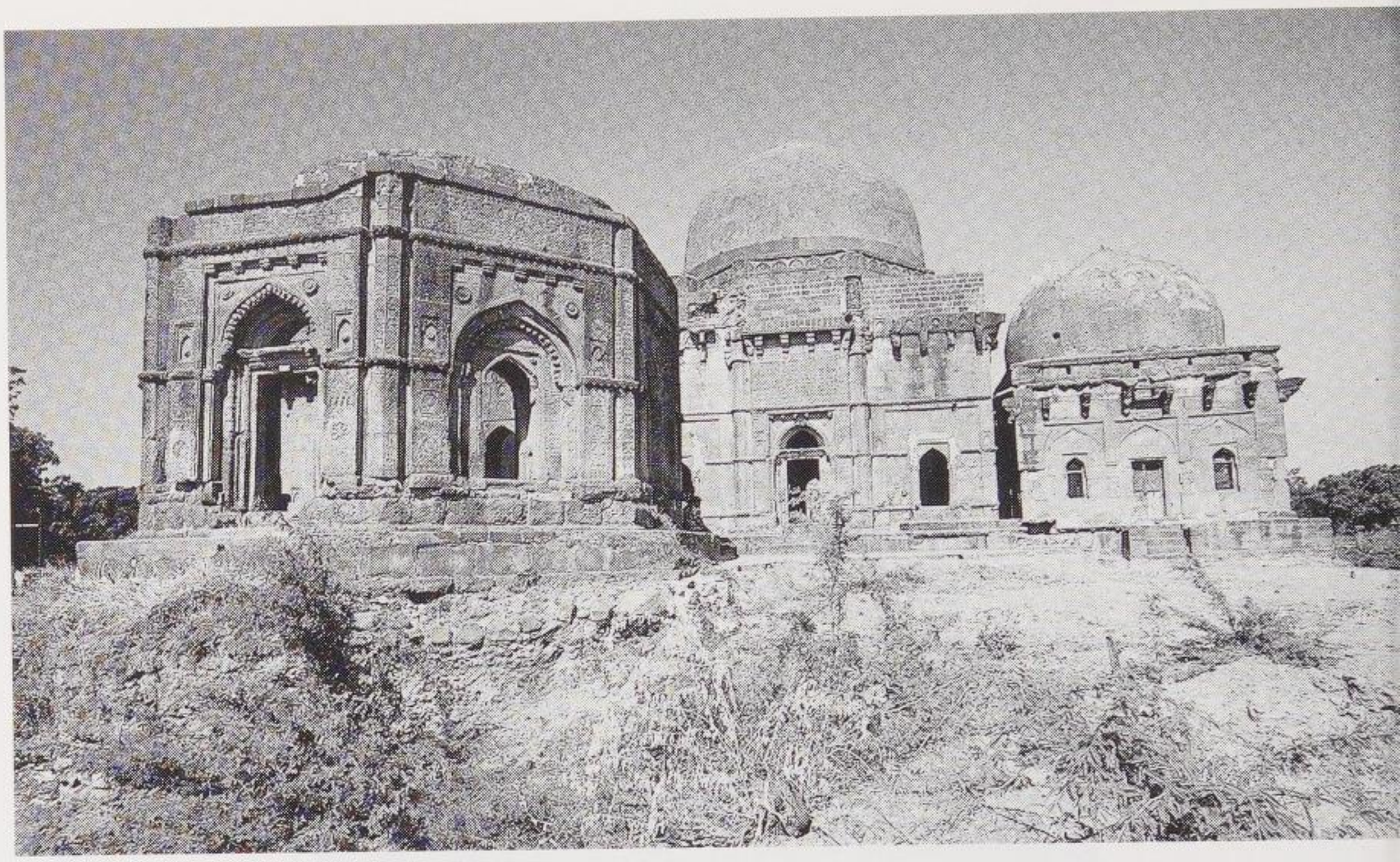
THE FARUQIS OF THALNER AND BURHANPUR

Religious architecture of the Faruqis shows a greater affinity with building traditions in Malwa and Gujarat than with those of the Deccan. This is obvious from mosques and tombs at Thalner, Burhanpur and Asirgarh built in variations of Central and Western Indian styles. The reason for including these monuments here is that these same sites were later absorbed into the Mughal province of Khandesh, one of the chief administrative units of the Deccan.

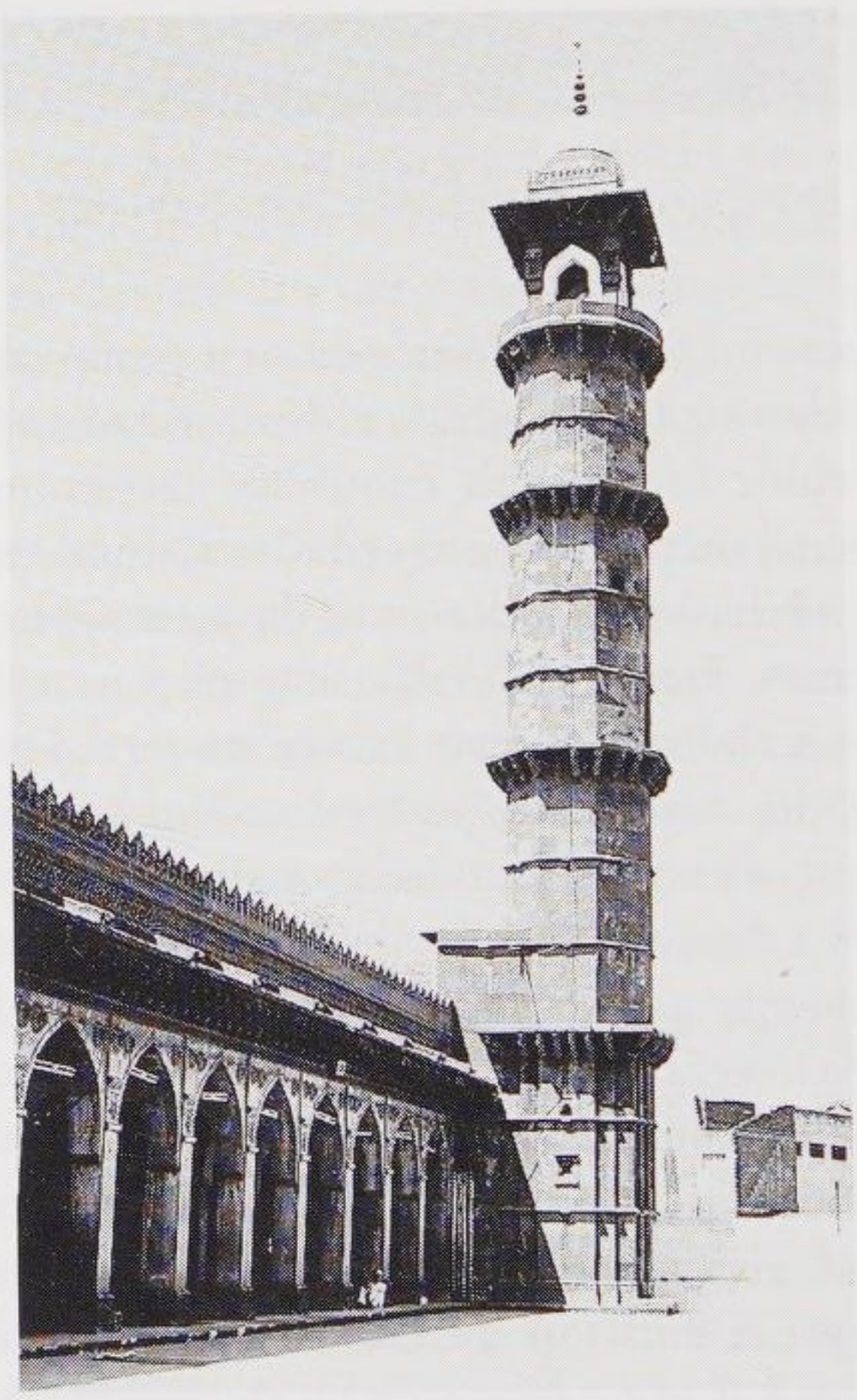
71 Jami mosque, Gandikota, late seventeenth century

Faruqi architecture at Thalner is confined to a group of mid-fifteenth-century tombs, including the lasting resting places of Nasir Khan and Miran Mubarak Shah I (Fig. 72). Their cubic forms with controlled elevational treatments and the somewhat angled domes on pronounced cylindrical drums are characteristics of the Malwa style. One tomb has smaller domes of the same type repeated at the corners, in obvious reference to Hoshang Shah's mausoleum at Mandu. Façades have shallow arched recesses and angled eaves carried on carved brackets. One octagonal tomb, now without its dome, has pointed arched openings on each side ornamented with fringes of buds surrounded by stylised designs in shallow relief. The southern arch frames a doorway with jambs and lintel. Tombs of the later Faruqis follow the same scheme, as can be seen in the complex on the outskirts of Burhanpur. Here, the lower cubic portions of the tombs have arched recesses in the middle of each side, sometimes with stone screens placed over the doorways and in the niches at either side. Domes with slightly angled profiles are raised on prominent octagonal drums, giving the buildings a somewhat massive appearance.

Two places of prayer at Burhanpur are associated with the Faruqis. The Bibi-ka mosque was constructed at some date prior to the middle of the sixteenth century. Its stylistic connections with Gujarat are explained by the fact that the building



72 Tombs, Thalner, fifteenth century



73 Minaret of Jami mosque, Burhanpur, 1588

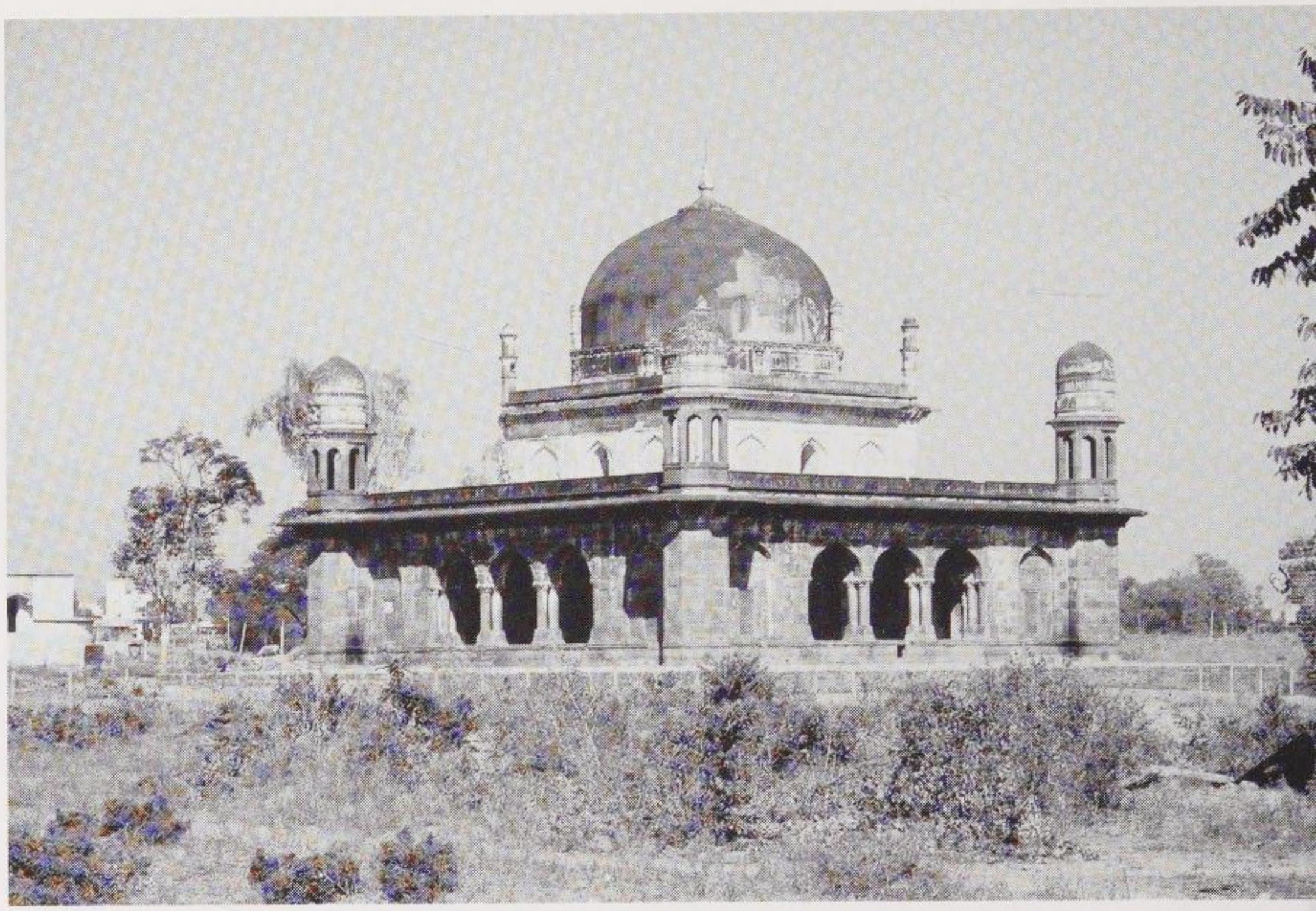
patron, the widow of Adil Khan II, was the daughter of Muzaffar II, sultan of Ahmadabad. The long façade of this monument is distinguished by a central portal with an enlarged arch flanked by substantial minarets. The treatment of these lofty towers is magnificently planned, with shallow balconies allowing a transition from octagon to circle; four windows project outwards from the topmost stage. The Jami mosque, begun in 1588 by Adil Khan IV, is larger but simpler. The fifteen arches of its long façade are separated by piers with shallow niches and carved lotus medallions. Above, the parapet has elegantly shaped crenellations. Corner minarets are divided into four stages, octagonal below and polygonal above (Fig. 73). They are topped with miniature pavilions with arched windows, angled eaves and small domes. The prayer hall is divided into regular bays by plain cross vaults. An inscription in Sanskrit and Persian is set into the arch over the central mihrab. The hall opens onto a courtyard surrounded by a colonnade. The same scheme is repeated in the Jami mosque that crowns a rocky eminence within the citadel at Asirgarh, 18 kilometres north of Burhanpur. Here the minarets are reduced to their simplest forms, being capped simply with plain domical tops.

THE MUGHALS

Mosques and tombs sponsored by the Mughal emperors, commanders and officials in the Deccan tend to conform to architectural patterns well established in North India by the beginning of the sixteenth century. This is obvious from the insistence on fluted tapering columns, lobed arches, angled overhangs, diminutive chhatri-like turrets, bangla vaults and fluted domes. In spite of their overall standardisation, however, Mughal monuments in the Deccan are not always conventional in design.

Mughal religious architecture in Khandesh anticipates by several decades building activities in the Deccan itself. The tomb of Shah Nawaz Khan at Burhanpur dating from 1619 (Fig. 74) was erected by Khan-i Khanan for his deceased son. It is original in conception, rising in stages to create an overall pyramidal composition. The lower storey has triple-arched openings in the middle of each side, with octagonal buttresses at the corners protruding above the roof as slender pavilions. They are capped with stunted domes that recall the tops of minarets in earlier Faruqi buildings. The upper storey consists of a pavilion with separate sets of four and eight slender finials encasing the flattish dome. The later tomb of Burhanuddin Raz-i Ilahi repeats this basic scheme, but without the roof-top pavilion.

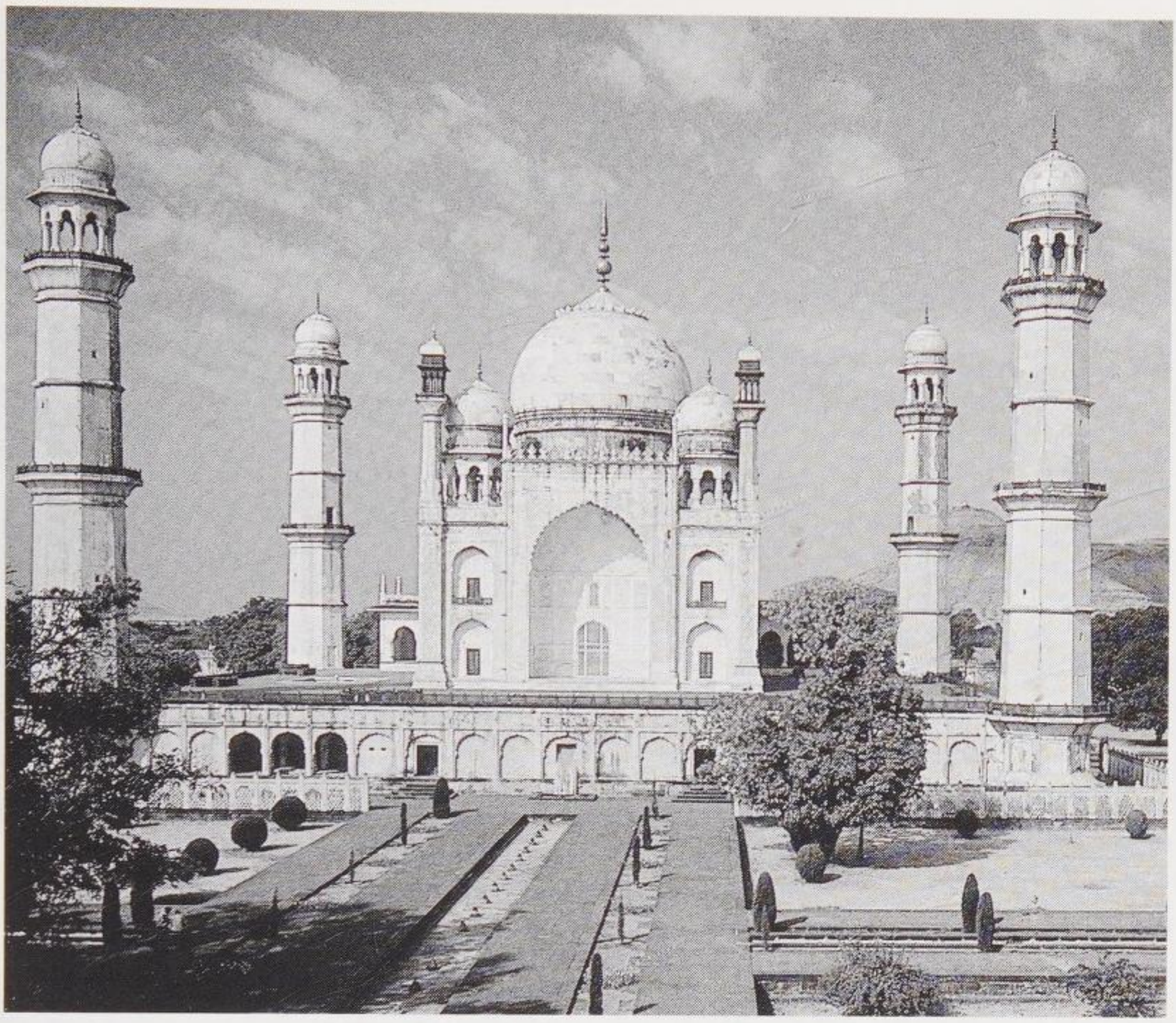
The earliest example of Mughal architecture within the Deccan heartland is both the largest and in many respects the most original. The Bibi-ka Maqbara was erected at a site 2 kilometres north of Aurangabad by Azam Shah for his mother, Rabia Daurani (Fig. 75). The mausoleum stands in the middle of a large garden entered on the south side through an imposing gateway. This has a central arched portal flanked by panels filled with flowering plants and topped by spandrels with arabesque motifs, all in delicately modelled plasterwork. Vaults and domes in the



74 Tomb of Shah Nawaz Khan, Burhanpur, 1619

arched recesses at either side are softened by multiple facets. Slender finials with domical tops are placed at the corners. Inlaid brass doors are inscribed with the name of the architect and a date equivalent to 1661 (see Fig. 99). Panels of painted tilework are seen on the walls (see Fig. 104). The garden is surrounded by crenellated walls with bastions topped with chhatri-like pavilions at the corners. It is divided into thirty-two plots by twelve waterways, the crossings marked by sandstone platforms containing ponds and fountains. Carved stone screens line the axial walkways.

The architect of the Bibi-ka Maqbara, Ataullah, was the son of Ustad Ahmad, designer of the Taj Mahal; this accounts for the close schematic relationship between the two monuments. But comparisons with the Taj tend to underscore the unsatisfactory proportions of the Aurangabad tomb, while failing to acknowledge the innovative aspects of its layout and distinguished ornamentation. The mausoleum itself is a grandiose conception dictated by rigorous symmetry. Each façade has a central arched portal flanked by double tiers of similar but smaller arched recesses. A great dome with a pronounced bulbous profile crowns the whole composition. Octagonal domed chhatris and tapering octagonal finials topped with diminutive square pavilions mark the corners. The doorway on the south leads to an octagonal gallery overlooking the grave at the lower level, a feature unknown in any other Mughal tomb. The cenotaph is enclosed by an octagon of delicately



75 Bibi-ka Maqbara, Aurangabad, 1661

carved marble screens. Squinches carry the lofty dome that rises above. White marble cladding with polychrome inlays combines with delicately moulded plaster-work both inside and outside the building (see Fig. 81). Like the Taj Mahal, the mausoleum is framed by four tapering minarets which stand freely at the corners of the terrace; the Aurangabad examples, however, are octagonal rather than circular, though they also have domed pavilions at the top. West of the tomb is a small mosque with lobed arches and corner minarets. Panels with lotuses and arabesques embellish the façade. Shallow fluted domes roof the interior bays.

Besides the extension of the Jami mosque begun by Malik Ambar, the Mughals commissioned several new places of prayer in Aurangabad. The Chauk mosque of 1662 erected by Shaista Khan, maternal uncle of Aurangzeb, stands on a terrace that rises above the crowded market streets. It is a sober structure lacking any obvious Mughal characteristics, with a single central dome and octagonal corner buttresses. The Lal mosque of 1665 built by Zain al-Abidin, a government official, is similar in layout, but has lobed arches carried on typical fluted columns. More unusual is the Shahi mosque of 1693, erected by Aurangzeb for his private use on the east flank of Qila Arak (Fig. 76). The prayer hall is roofed by triple vaults with curved bangla cornices topped with fluted domes; the façade shows enlarged trilobed arches.

76 Shahi mosque, Aurangabad, 1693

The return of the Mughal court to Delhi after Aurangzeb's death by no means signalled the demise of Mughal architecture at Aurangabad. The Shah Ganj mosque of 1720 occupies the west side of the great market square laid out by Aurangzeb in the middle of the city. The prayer hall is raised high above street level, with shops built into its sides. Flights of steps on the north and south sides ascend to a spacious courtyard with a large cistern in the middle. The prayer chamber presents a line of lobed arches with finely polished plasterwork. The smaller, more interesting Kaudiya Luti mosque just inside the western line of fortifications of the city has pierced stone windows set into the walls of the prayer hall. Side chambers have doorways capped with bangla cornices in shallow plaster relief. Cusped arches carry domes, that in front of the mihrab being raised on a high drum.

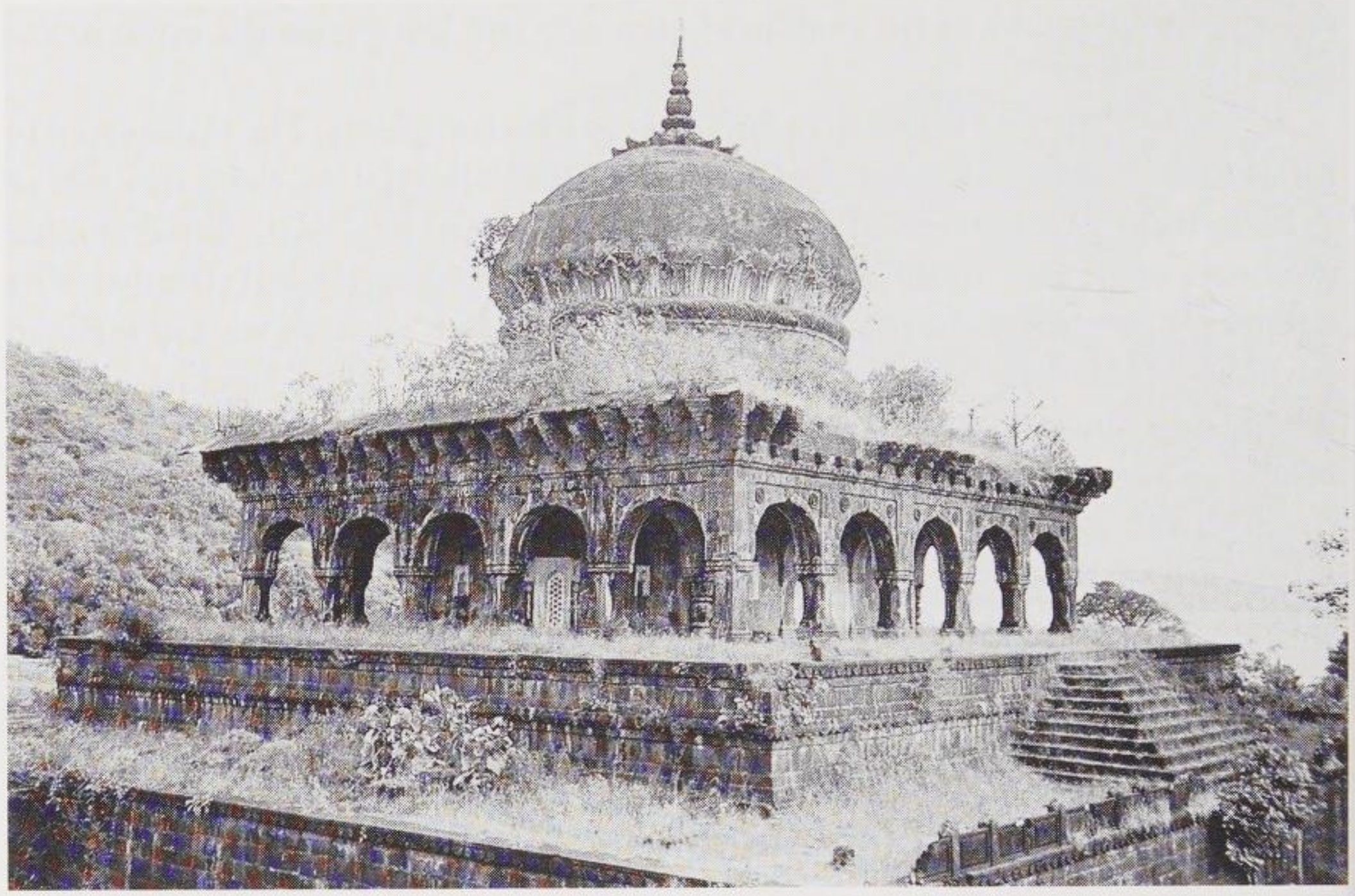
Later funerary monuments at Aurangabad are confined to small-scale buildings such as the dargah of Shah Musafir, Aurangzeb's spiritual guide, who died in 1699. Together with a mosque, madrasa and sarai, the saint's tomb faces onto a small garden adjoining the Panchakki water mill (see chapter 2). The elegant pink structure makes use of the usual fluted columns and lobed recesses. The adjacent mosque employs broad lobed arches in highly polished white plaster. The corners of the roof are marked by small chhatris; triple domes rise on friezes of acanthus leaves. The tomb of Nizamuddin Auliya of 1724 has the same chhatri turrets, but there is only a single bulbous dome on well-formed acanthus leaves. Qadar Auliya's tomb, which is otherwise similar, is surrounded by an arcaded corridor roofed with

curving bangla vaults in the middle of each side and low pyramidal vaults at the corners.

Several late Mughal tombs are planned as garden complexes. The mausoleum of Pir Ismail, Aurangzeb's tutor, stands outside the Delhi gate on the north side of Aurangabad. The flat-roofed building has corner chhatris with fluted domes; doorways at the ends of the arcaded façades lead into the octagonal chamber. The complex is entered on the south side through a gate with triple arches and roof-top pavilions. A similarly planned complex tomb is the Lal Bagh at Khuldabad. This dilapidated funerary monument was laid out by Khan Jahan, Aurangzeb's foster brother. It comprises an octagonal tomb in the middle of a chahar-bagh garden. Another funerary garden is located on a hill slope east of Daulatabad. Its surrounding walls have corner chhatris with fluted domes and an entrance gate on the west side. Square plots surround the central dais with graves.

Other important Mughal funerary monuments are seen at Khuldabad where are buried Aurangzeb and his son Azam Shah. While the royal graves within the dargah of Hazrat Zainuddin are no more than simple gravestones, the complex itself was much extended under the Mughals. The square courtyard in front of the saint's tomb is surrounded by two-storeyed arcades with baluster columns and cusped arches. A monumental gateway topped with bangla pavilions stands to the south. On the west side is a mosque with lobed arches, corner minarets and a hemispherical dome on acanthus frieze. Similar additions are seen in the dargah of Hazrat Burhanuddin Gharib opposite. The courtyard to the rear of the complex incorporates the graves of Nizam al-Mulk and Nasir Jang. Of greater architectural interest is the tomb of Muntajabuddin Zar Zari Badshah a short distance north of Khuldabad. The chamber has superimposed pointed and lobed arches in the middle of each side, with additional lobed recesses cut at an angle into the corners. Roof-top pavilions have petalled domes of the same type as that which rises above the sepulchral chamber.

Monuments beyond the Aurangabad area sponsored by the governors of the different provinces show the Mughal style at its most conventional, as for example in the mosques at Jalna and Bidar. Aurangzeb's gateway to the Jami mosque at Bijapur and the additions that he made to the Mecca mosque at Hyderabad are among the more ambitious structures of the period. Here, too, may be mentioned the tomb of Shah Shuja just north of Burhanpur. This fascinating but historically obscure building, probably belonging to the early eighteenth century, consists of a small circular chamber with twelve bulbous projections. These are echoed in the lobed plan of the terrace on which the tomb stands. The projections dictating the complex profile of the angled eaves terminate in diminutive part-circular pavilions. These show ribbed domes clustering against the sides of the main dome. Narrow flanges between the projections are topped with shallow finials.



77 Tomb of Sirul Khan, Janjira, 1733

THE SIDIS

Adil Shahi traditions seem to have dictated the religious architecture of the Sidis whose building activities coincide with the late Mughal era. The Jami mosque on the mainland opposite their island fort of Janjira has an arcaded prayer hall flanked by corner buttresses with cut-out curving brackets. Windows are placed in both the side and rear walls. The mausoleum of Sirul Khan who died in 1733 is located about 1 kilometre away (Fig. 77). The sepulchral chamber is surrounded by an arcade and raised on a double terrace. The stunted dome has boldly modelled petals at its base. A pair of smaller, almost identical tombs standing on a common plinth nearby are associated with Yaqut Khan, who died in 1707, and his brother Khariat Khan. In spite of their obvious Adil Shahi appearance, these buildings employ Mughal-style lobed recesses in the middle of each side. The walls are overhung by angled eaves and trefoil parapets set between slender pinnacles. The domes are similarly stunted in profile.

CHAPTER 4

ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION

All the phases of Deccani architecture surveyed in this volume are characterised by richly adorned surfaces. Incised plaster appears to have been the preferred material for decoration in Bahmani buildings during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, continued in later times under the Baridis and Qutb Shahis. This material was replaced to some extent by stone as a primary decorative medium in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as in the mosques and tombs of the Nizam Shahis and Adil Shahis. Carved wood and coloured tiles were probably in widespread use throughout these centuries, but only fragmentary evidence has survived; sadly, the painted heritage is similarly incomplete. This situation changes to some extent in the eighteenth century from which time there are Maratha-style mansions furnished with woodwork and murals.

The repertory of ornamental themes in all materials is at first limited, with a preference for geometric and stylised floral motifs inherited from Khalji and Tughluq architecture. That indigenous traditions gradually manifest themselves is evident in the widespread use of naturalistic motifs based on the lotus and other plant forms. The impact of Iranian and even occasionally Turkish traditions detected in later Bahmani and in Nizam Shahi buildings is accompanied by a new range of motifs, especially calligraphy, stylised plant forms and dense arabesque patterns. The most spectacular instance of an imported decorative scheme is the tilework on the madrasa of Mahmud Gawan at Bidar. Architectural ornament in carved stone at Bijapur attains a degree of exuberance unmatched elsewhere. Designs based on animal and vegetal motifs become popular, though always in partnership with calligraphic, arabesque and geometric patterns, reflecting the sustained impact of Islamic artistic conventions.

INCISED PLASTERWORK

Plaster decoration is at first restricted to bands around arched openings and recesses, and to medallions in the spandrels above. Early Bahmani buildings make use of a limited range of geometric and floral motifs, as can be seen in palaces at Daulatabad and Firuzabad (see chapter 2) and in mosques and tombs at Gulbarga and Holkonda (see chapter 3). This decorative repertory also includes simple geometric patterns in screens. It has been argued that crown-and-wing motifs at the apexes of arches are derived from ancient Iranian royal emblems, but it is more likely that such motifs have their origins in the decorative themes of earlier Hindu

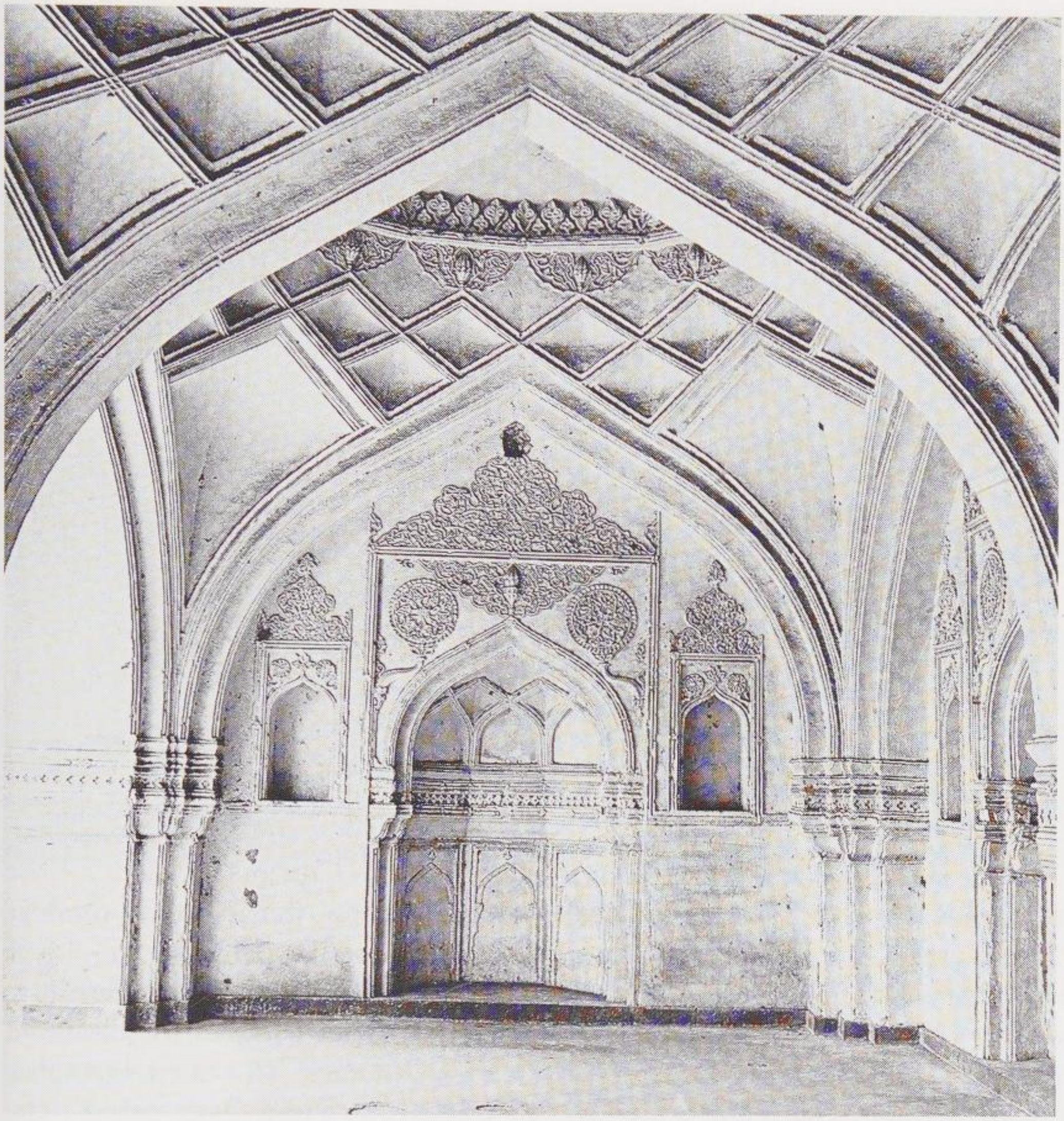
monuments in the Deccan. This ornamental range is elaborated in the tomb of Tajuddin Firuz at Gulbarga where strapwork, petalled fringes and creeper motifs all appear in arched bands; cornices are created with rows of angled bricks, diagonal squares and trefoil crenellations. The mosque within the dargah of Mujarrad Kamal at the same site has flattish arches with lobes encrusted with calligraphy, seemingly suspended over the arched openings. Probably the most refined plasterwork of the era is the delicately incised calligraphy and foliation of the mihrab in the Langar-ki mosque just north of Gulbarga.

Plasterwork in later Bahmani monuments sometimes achieves sumptuous effects, as on the façade of the Takht-i Kirmani at Bidar (Fig. 14). The crown-and-wing motif at the summit of its central arch is transformed into an elaborate cartouche crowded with intricate arabesques; similar patterns fill the enlarged medallions in the spandrels and the trefoil crestings of the parapet. More restrained plasterwork adorns the Baridi monuments in the same city, as in the tomb of Khan Jahan where medallion-on-chain motifs appear inside the arched recesses. The interior of the mosque associated with the tomb of Ali Barid Shah displays elegantly worked cartouches filled with arabesques above the wall niches, including the mihrab (Fig. 78). Deeply moulded patterns adorn the plastered wall niches of the inner apartments of the Tarkash Mahal.

Plasterwork in early Adil Shahi monuments at Bijapur continues the same tradition, as can be seen on the façades of Ikhlas Khan's mosque and the prayer hall associated with Ain al-Mulk's tomb at Ainapur. Ornate medallions and cartouches decorate the arches of Ali Shahid Pir's mosque; enlarged medallion-on-chain motifs embellish the dome inside. Elaborate plasterwork also enhances Adil Shahi courtly structures. Medallions-on-bracket motifs appear in the spandrels of the monumental arch in the Gagan Mahal within the citadel; the brackets take the form of upside-down fish, complete with eyes, gills and tails. The fish are reduced to sinuous outlines in most later versions of this motif. The deteriorating chambers of the nearby Sat Manzil bear traces of elaborate decoration inside flattish domes and vaults. Here can be seen a variety of inventive patterns employing strapwork, medallions and cartouches, all executed with utmost refinement.

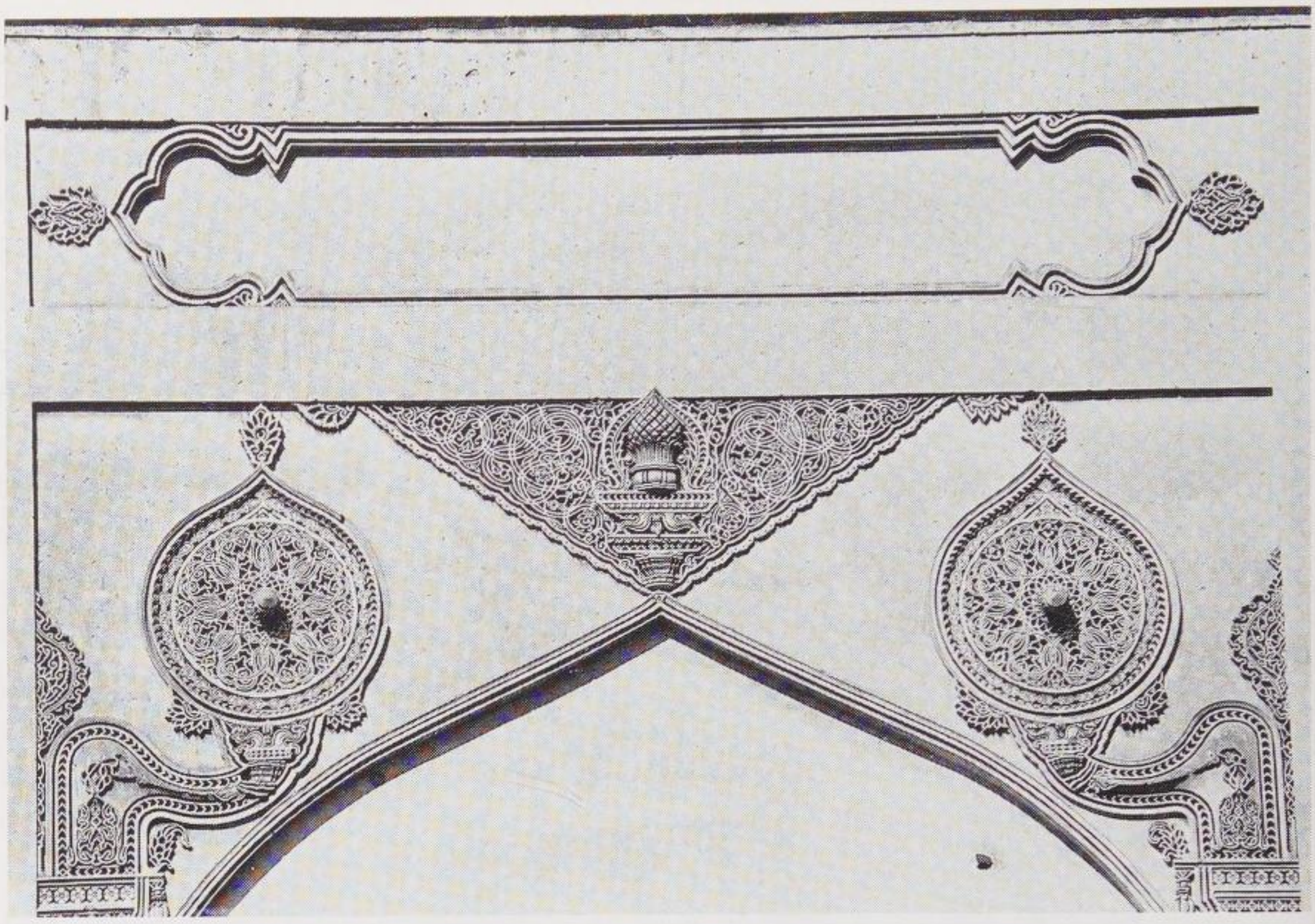
With the development of carved stonework in later Adil Shahi architecture, plaster decoration tends to be confined to cartouches and medallions on sinuous brackets. They are seen on both structures of the Ibrahim Rauza as well as on the small but exquisite mosque of the Mihtar-i Mahal. The largest cartouches and medallion-on-bracket motifs are those filled with luxuriant but crisply cut scrollwork on the façade of the Gol Gumbad (Fig. 79). Bands marking the different stages of the corner minarets of this monument exhibit seemingly endless variations on the interlaced parapet design.

Unlike the Adil Shahis, the Qutb Shahis retained plasterwork as the primary medium of decoration. Monumental gates, such as that which serves as the principal entrance to the Bala Hisar at Golconda, show ornate arabesque medallions as well as



78 Plaster detail, mosque associated with tomb of Ali Barid Shah, Bidar, 1577

sharply modelled peacocks with long feathers and curly-tailed lions. A large range of decorative themes is seen in and around the arches marking the principal façades of Qutb Shahi mosques and tombs: ribbed fruits in high relief, cartouches filled with fanciful foliation, deeply incised flowing tassels, roundels filled with arabesque designs. Calligraphy makes an occasional appearance, as on the mosque associated with Hayat Bakshi Begum's tomb (see Fig. 69). Cornices lining arcades and galleries tend to be deeply moulded, sometimes with pierced plaster screens displaying bold geometric designs. Rows of petals marking the necks of domes, including those at a diminutive scale capping minarets and finials, become increasingly three-dimensional and outward curving. The most ornate Qutb Shahi monuments, such as the Toli mosque between Golconda and Hyderabad, orchestrate all these themes into an unparalleled decorative density (Fig. 70).

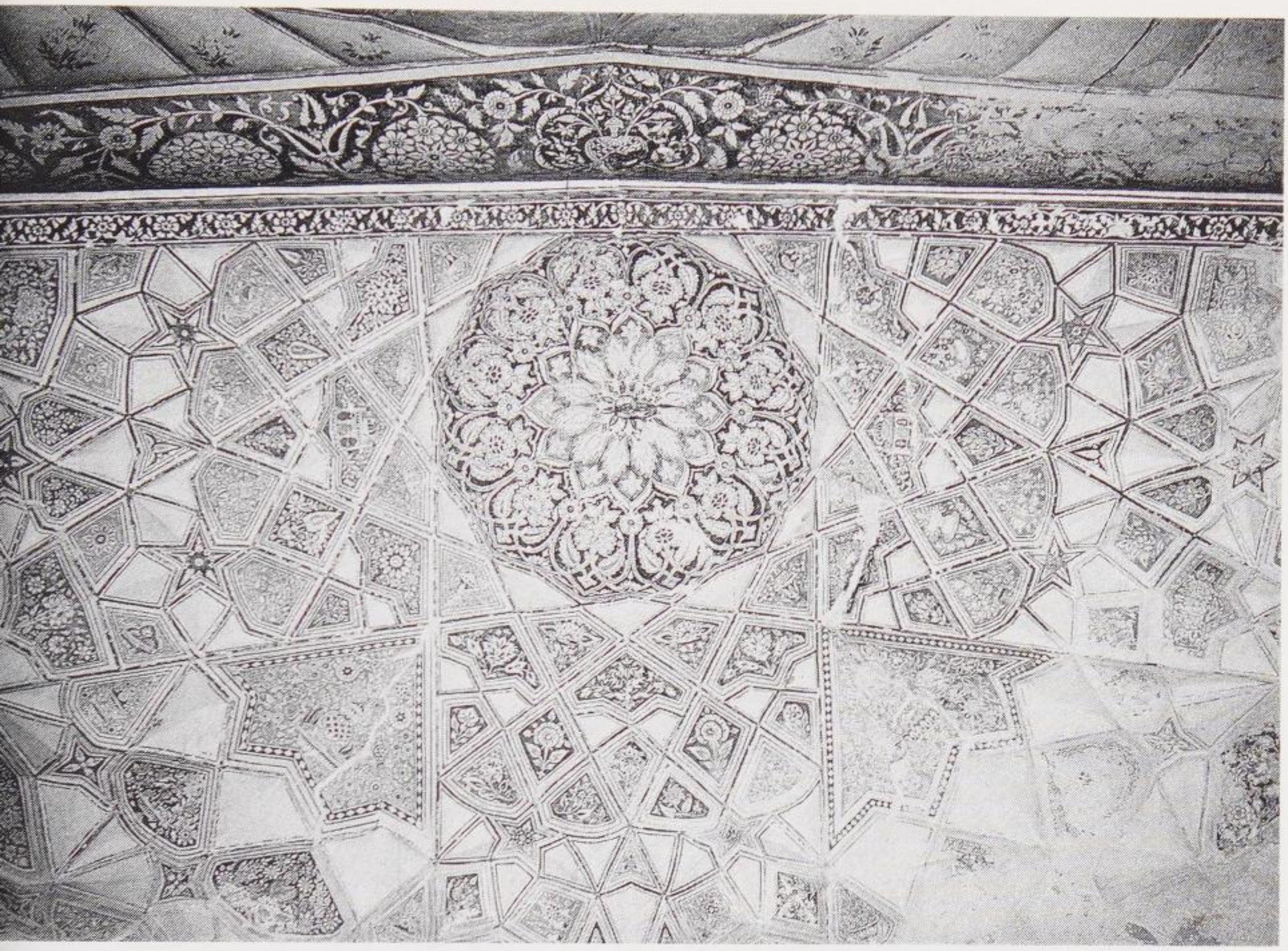


79 Plaster detail, Gol Gumbad, Bijapur, 1656

What little plasterwork survives on Nizam Shahi monuments indicates a close relationship with Adil Shahi traditions, as for example on Ahmad Bahri's tomb at Ahmadnagar. The Bhadkal gate at Aurangabad preserves remnants of plaster decoration, including medallion-on-bracket motifs. More popular are the intricate net-like designs inspired by Iranian traditions, such as the complex multi-faceted vaults filling the interiors of pendentives and half-domes. The finest examples, though no longer crisp and complete, are seen in the Farah Bagh palace. The Middle Eastern character of these patterns is modified by the introduction of full and half lotuses with clearly defined petals. That Mughal architecture in the Deccan had already absorbed such Iranian motifs is evident in the intricately faceted plaster vaults painted with stylised floral designs roofing the hammam at Burhanpur (Fig. 80). Patterns with naturalistic plant forms, such as stalks and tendrils, laid out in strict geometric fashion, animate the elegant plasterwork of the spandrels and interior vaults of the main tomb and entrance gate of the Bibi-ka Maqbara (Fig. 81). Plaster decoration elsewhere in Mughal architecture is mainly confined to delicately worked bands of acanthus leaves at the necks of domes.

CARVED STONEWORK

One of the most distinctive features of Deccani architectural decoration is the use of local fine black basalt. In the hands of extraordinary craftsmen, this exceptionally

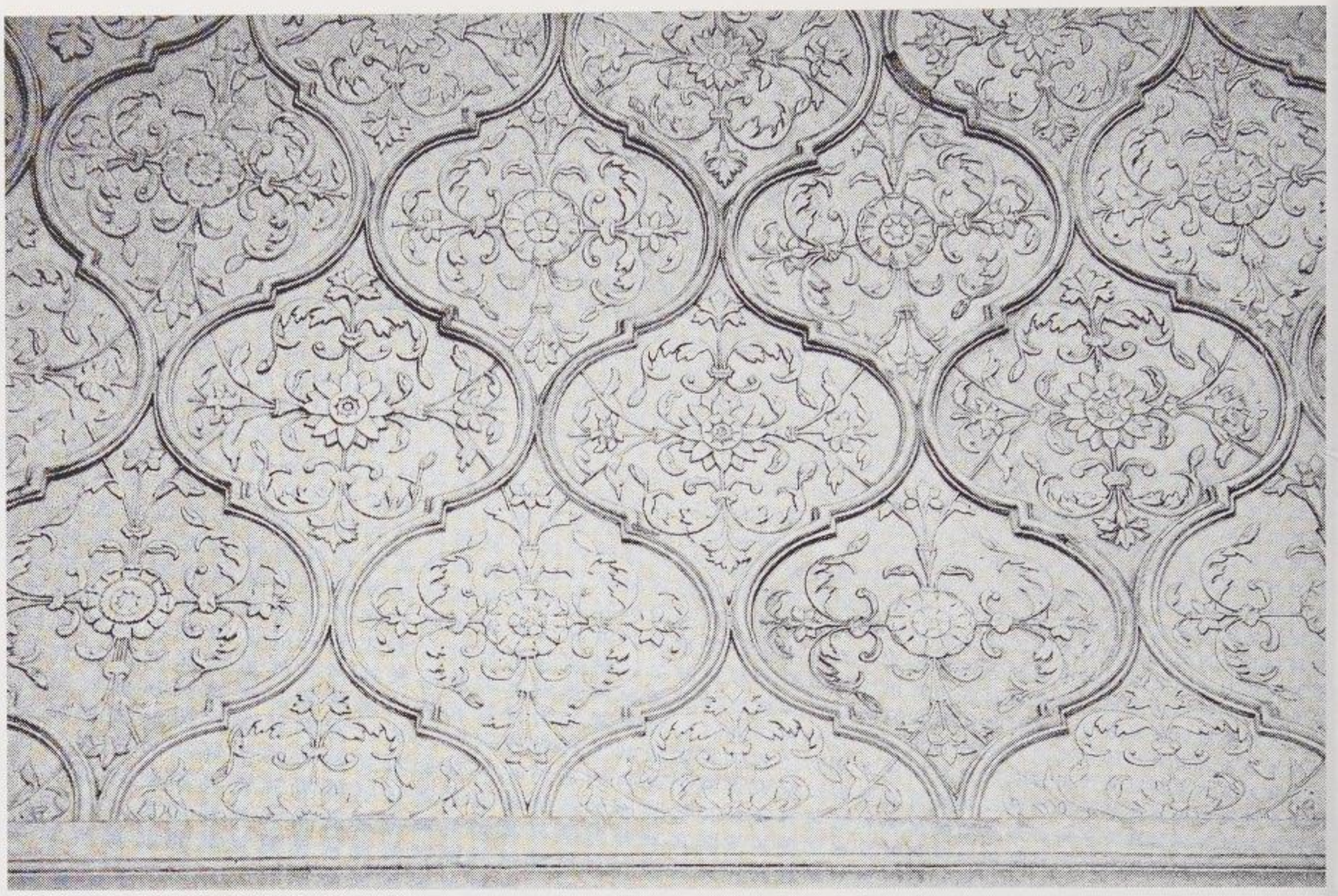


80 Plaster vault, hammam, Burhanpur, 1608

hard material was cut with crisply shaped designs and then polished to achieve a smooth mirror-like finish, ideal techniques for stylised geometric, foliate and calligraphic patterns. Such craftsmen were of course following in the footsteps of their predecessors who had produced similarly burnished basalt columns for the halls of Hindu temples.

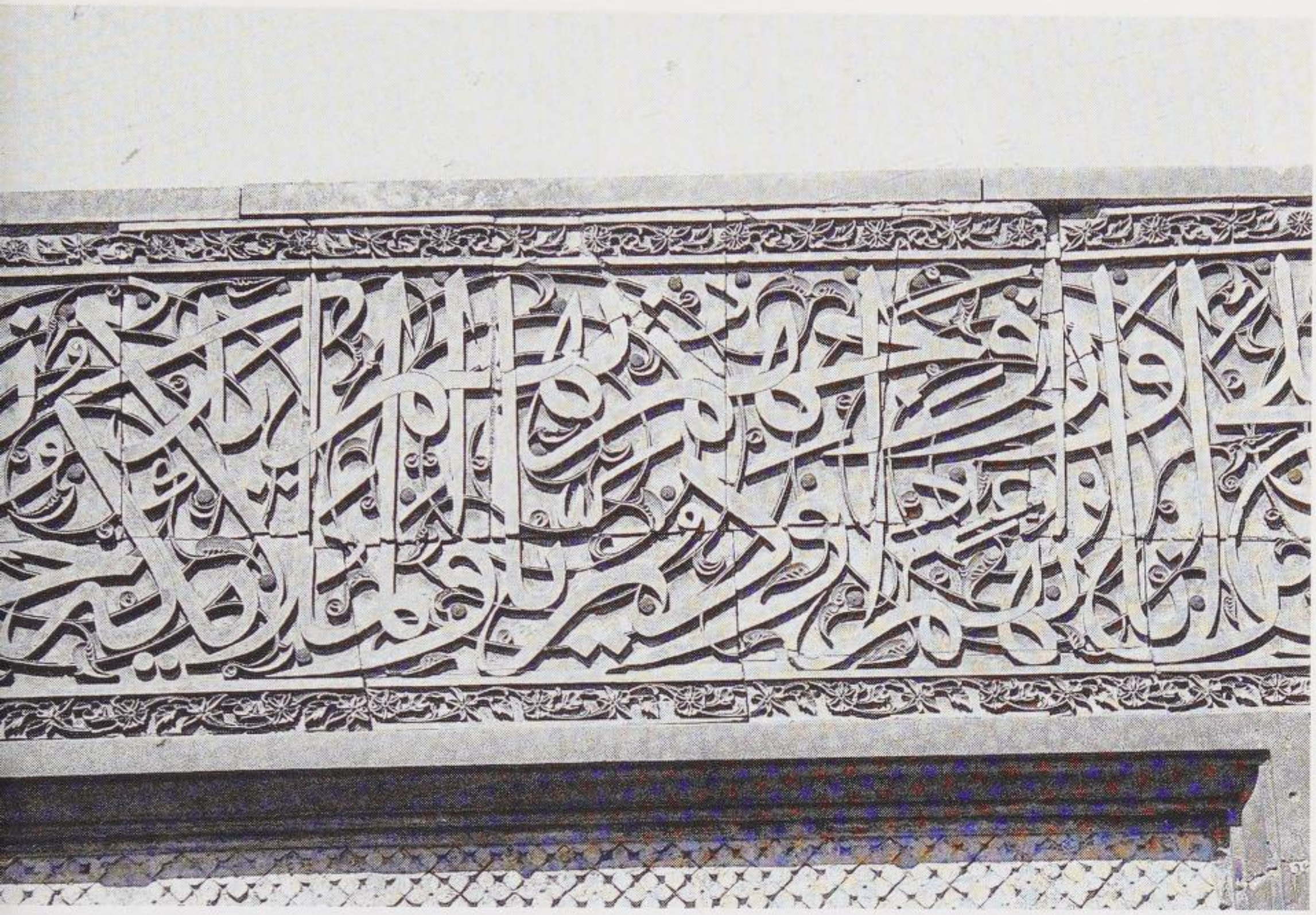
Isolated examples of stone carving in Bahmani and Baridi architecture are evident in the sculpted animal motifs that appear in the spandrels over arched openings, as in the Delhi gate at Daulatabad and the Sharza gate at Bidar. (They form a counterpart to animal designs in plasterwork and polychrome tilework, now mostly lost.) To these examples may be added the heraldic lions on the Sharza bastion at Bijapur. There are, in addition, the tigers and fantastic animals and birds sculpted onto granite blocks set into the side walls of the Banjara and Pattancheru gates at Golconda (Fig. 82). The preference for animal motifs at the entrances to Deccani forts survives into Maratha times. The principal gates at Raigad and Janjira, for instance, are adorned with panels showing lions clawing at diminutive captive elephants.

Stone calligraphic panels are accorded much prominence in the decor of mosques and tombs. Both Arabic and Persian are used, occasionally together in



81 Plaster vault, Bibi-ka Maqbara, Aurangabad, 1661

82 Sculpted granite animals on Pattancheru gate, Golconda, sixteenth century

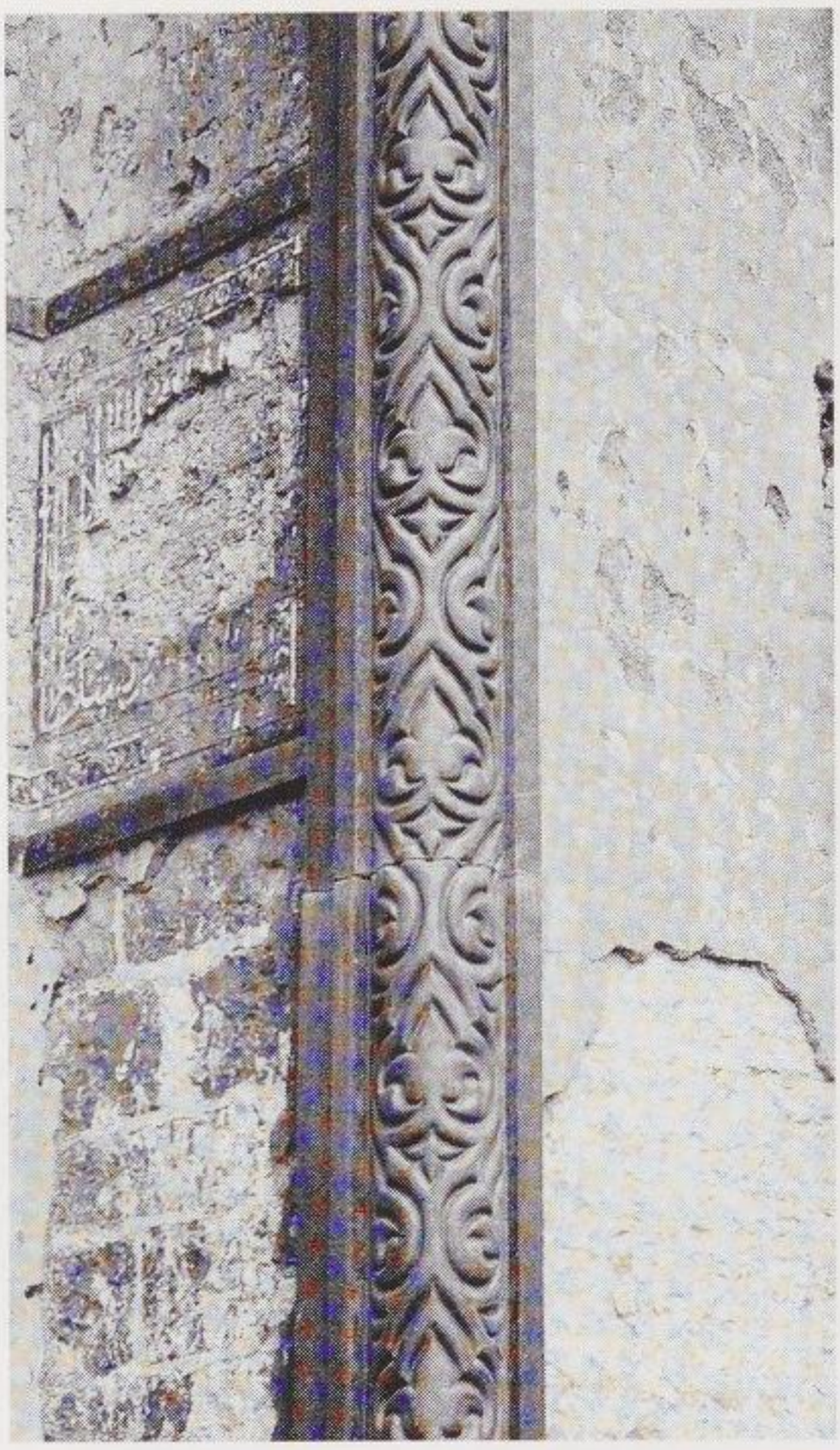


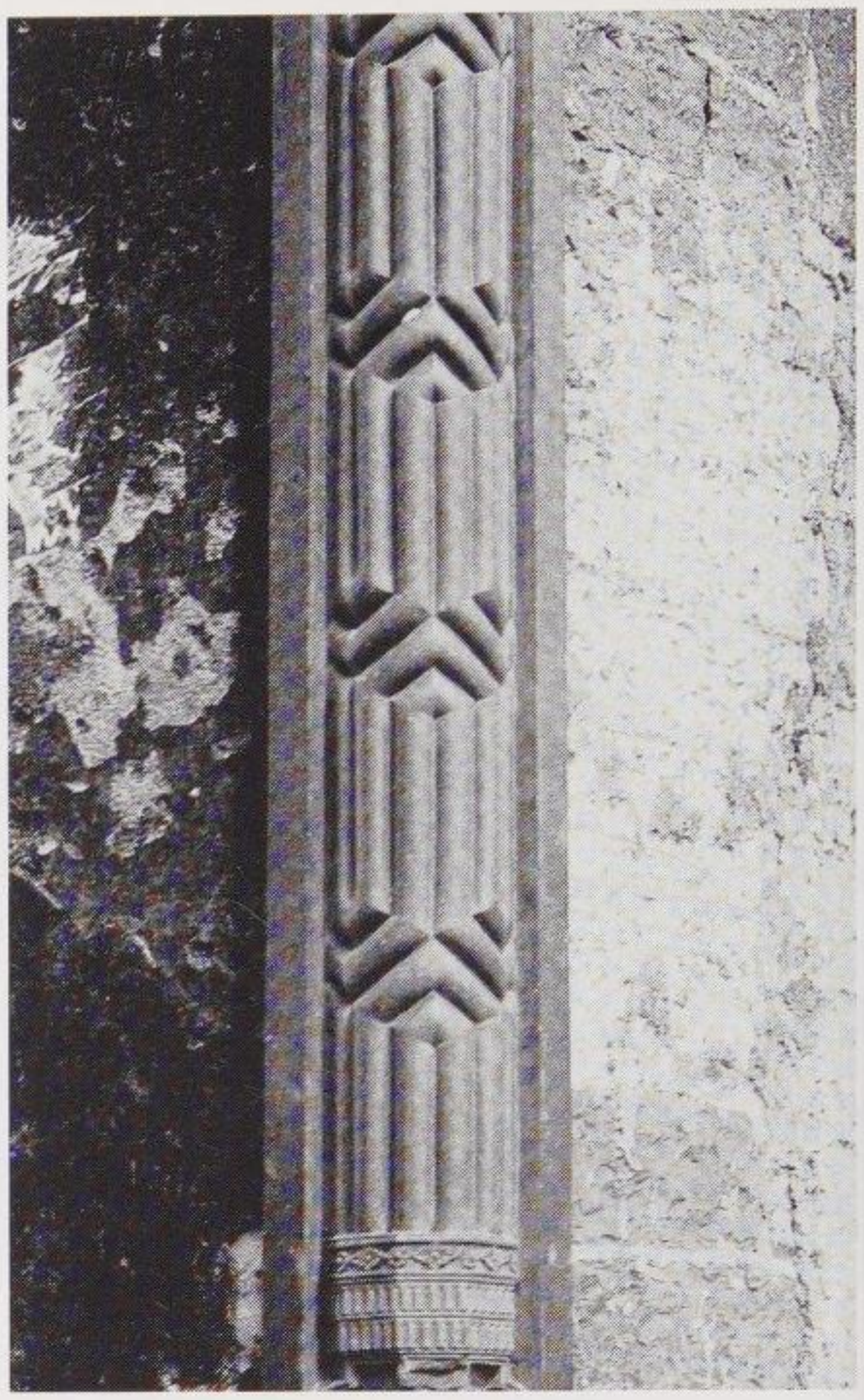
83 Black basalt inscription, tomb of Shaykh Khalilullah (Chaukhandi), Bidar, 1450

bilingual inscriptions, with a preference for thuluth script with generously overlapping letters. Other than quoting select Koranic verses, these texts mostly record details of building construction and the names of patrons. The texts inscribed on the right-hand mihrab of the Jami mosque within the fort at Raichur include the Shia Profession of Faith and prayers calling for God's blessings on the twelve Shia Imams.

The finest examples of calligraphy from the Bahmani era are the black basalt slabs placed over the doorways of the tomb shrine of Shaykh Khalilullah outside Bidar (Fig. 83). Koranic quotations in majestic thuluth script (XIII, 23–4) are superimposed on a background of great volutes of foliate scrollwork. The work of a calligrapher from Shiraz named Mughith, these compositions are among the greatest epigraphic masterpieces of Indian and Islamic art. (Other noteworthy Bahmani inscriptions discovered at Panhala and Raichur have been removed to museums at Kolhapur and Hyderabad.)

One aspect of Bahmani decorative stonework not hitherto noted is the fashion for the prominent basalt string courses which follow the lines of the buildings, particularly arched openings, as well as dividing up wall surfaces into rectangular panels to hold mosaic tilework. These string courses are often carved in spiral designs, stone versions of Timurid plaster and brick forms, as on the tombs of the





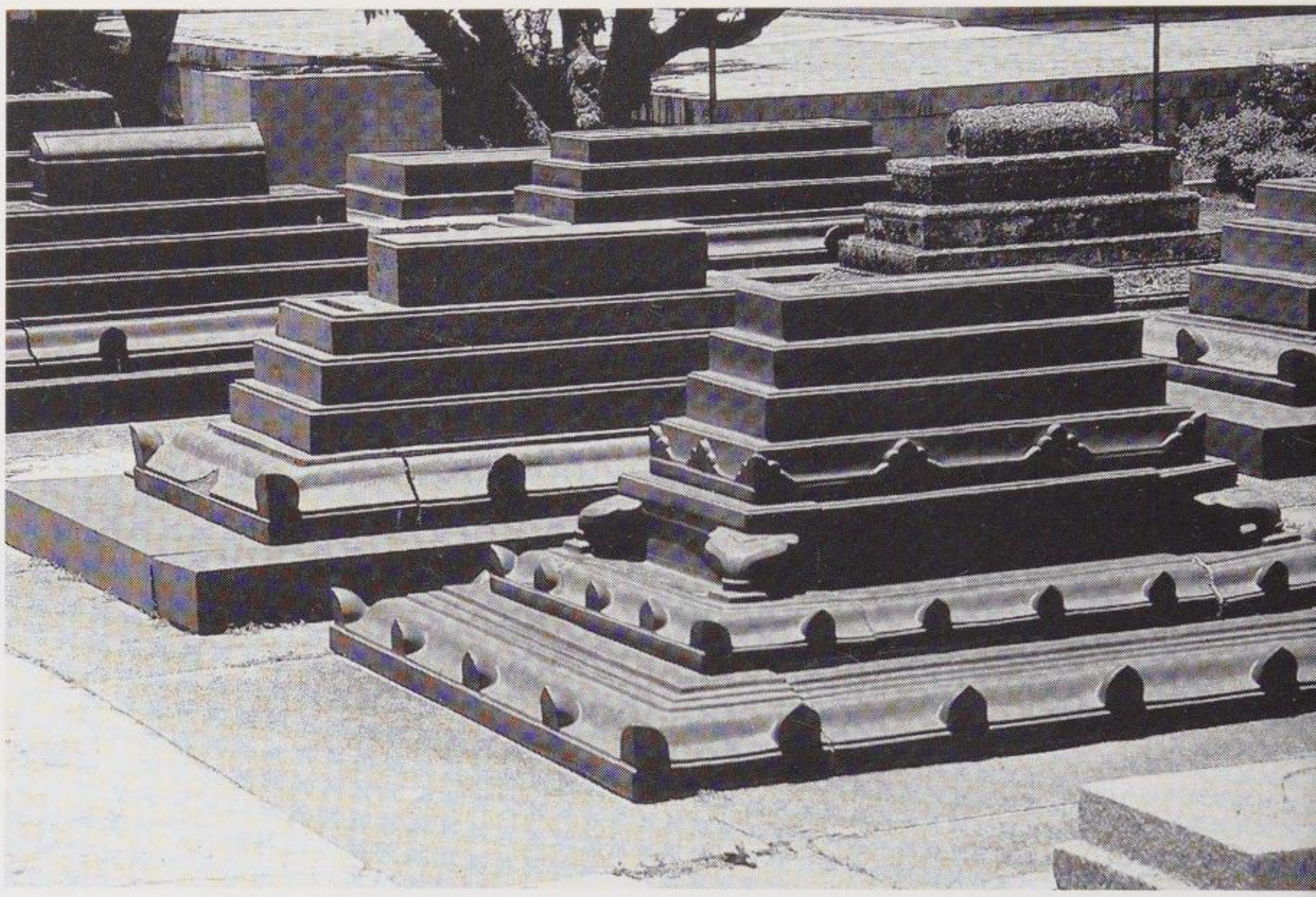
84 and 85 Black basalt string courses, tomb of Shaykh Khalilullah

Bahmani sultans at Ashtur north-east of Bidar and that of Hazrat Shah Abud Faid south of the city. On the tomb of Shaykh Khalilullah, however, the string courses are more complicated, with fascinating positive–negative forms of great originality (Figs. 84 and 85), recalling ninth-century stucco ornament of palaces at Samarra in Mesopotamia and thirteenth-century stone ornament on Seljuq mosques in Anatolia. More conventional are the small but delightfully carved arabesque designs which grace the capitals of the wall pilasters (Fig. 86).

Qutb Shahi buildings, otherwise free of stone decoration, exploit carved basalt calligraphy with great effect. Most mosques and tombs in the Golconda-Hyderabad area contain basalt panels carved with fine Arabic or Persian texts in the thuluth style designed by the best Middle Eastern scribes brought to Golconda by the sultans. We notice in these panels a tendency to arrange the script in vertically stacked registers, present on Deccani metalwork as well. Following the Bidar tradition, the bold and well-written script is placed on a background of lively foliate scrollwork creating images of dynamic and restless beauty. A splendidly long thuluth inscription of 1559 runs around the walls of the Mecca gate at Golconda.

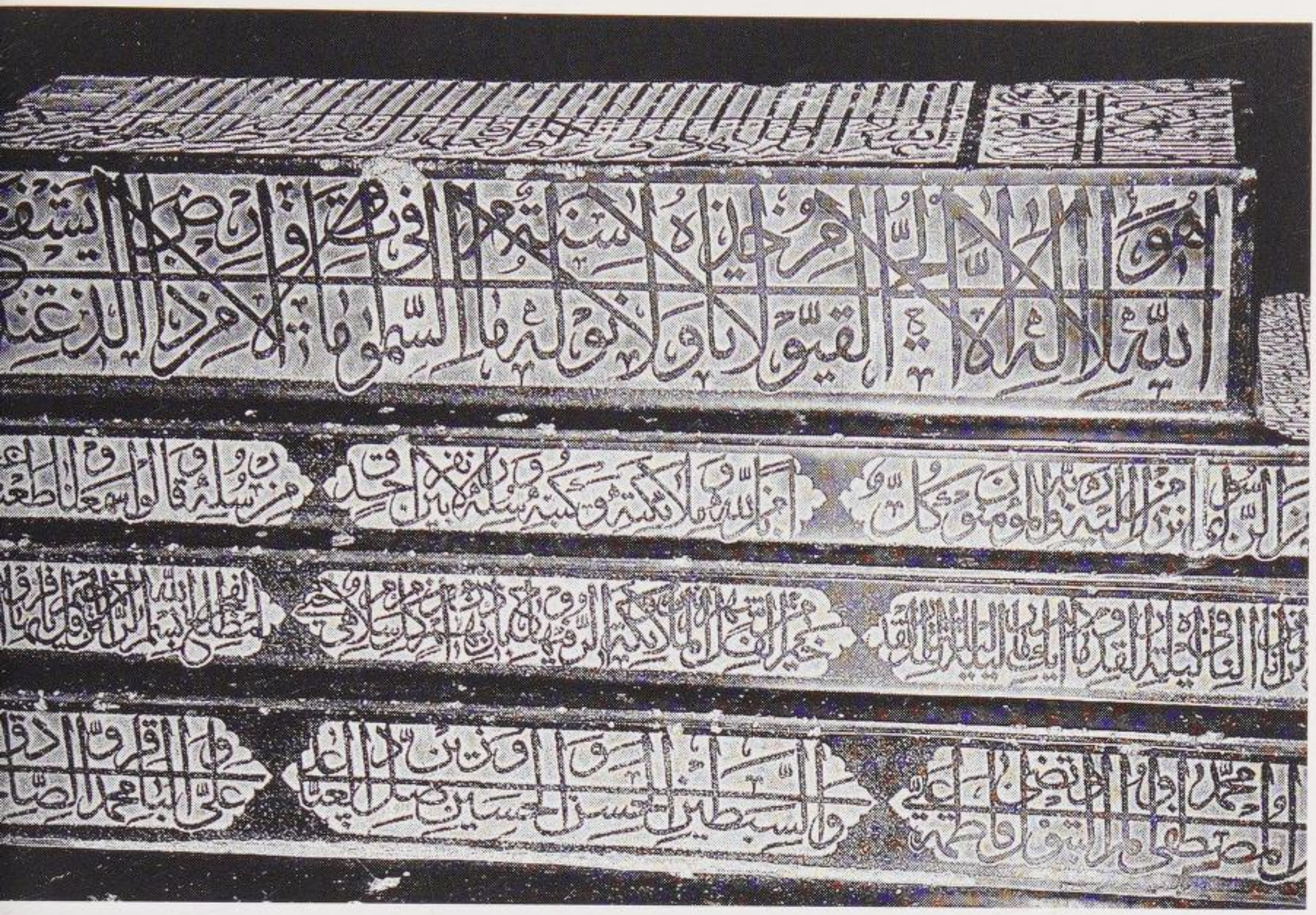
86 Carved capital with arabesque, tomb of Shaykh Khalilullah

The vast necropolis containing the tombs of the Qutb Shahi sultans and their families at Golconda is the repository of some of the finest stone epigraphy from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in India. The mosque associated with Hayat Bakshi Begum's tomb has a lobed mihrab arch surrounded by a rectangular frame incised with vertically stacked Koranic verses. Outside the various domed structures, in a pleasant garden setting, are the highly polished basalt cenotaphs of the sultans' relatives (Figs. 87 and 88). For the most part these are undecorated, but with fine streamlined proportions, usually of stepped rectangular form, often with elegant non-functional corner legs. The cenotaphs inside the tomb structures are inscribed with extraordinary thuluth script. Often the same verses that appear on metalwork are present here; in particular, the Shia Profession of Faith, the Cry to Ali (Nadi Aliyyan), and the Throne Verse (II, 256) and other Koranic passages. The cenotaph of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, dated 1611 in the year of the sultan's death, is particularly fine (Fig. 89). Equally well fashioned is the nearby cenotaph of prince Mirza Muhammad Amin, son of Ibrahim Qutb Shah, who died in 1596 (Fig. 90). The latter is distinguished by a harmonious square panel of kufic, a rare instance of this script in India. Highly polished and funereally black, these

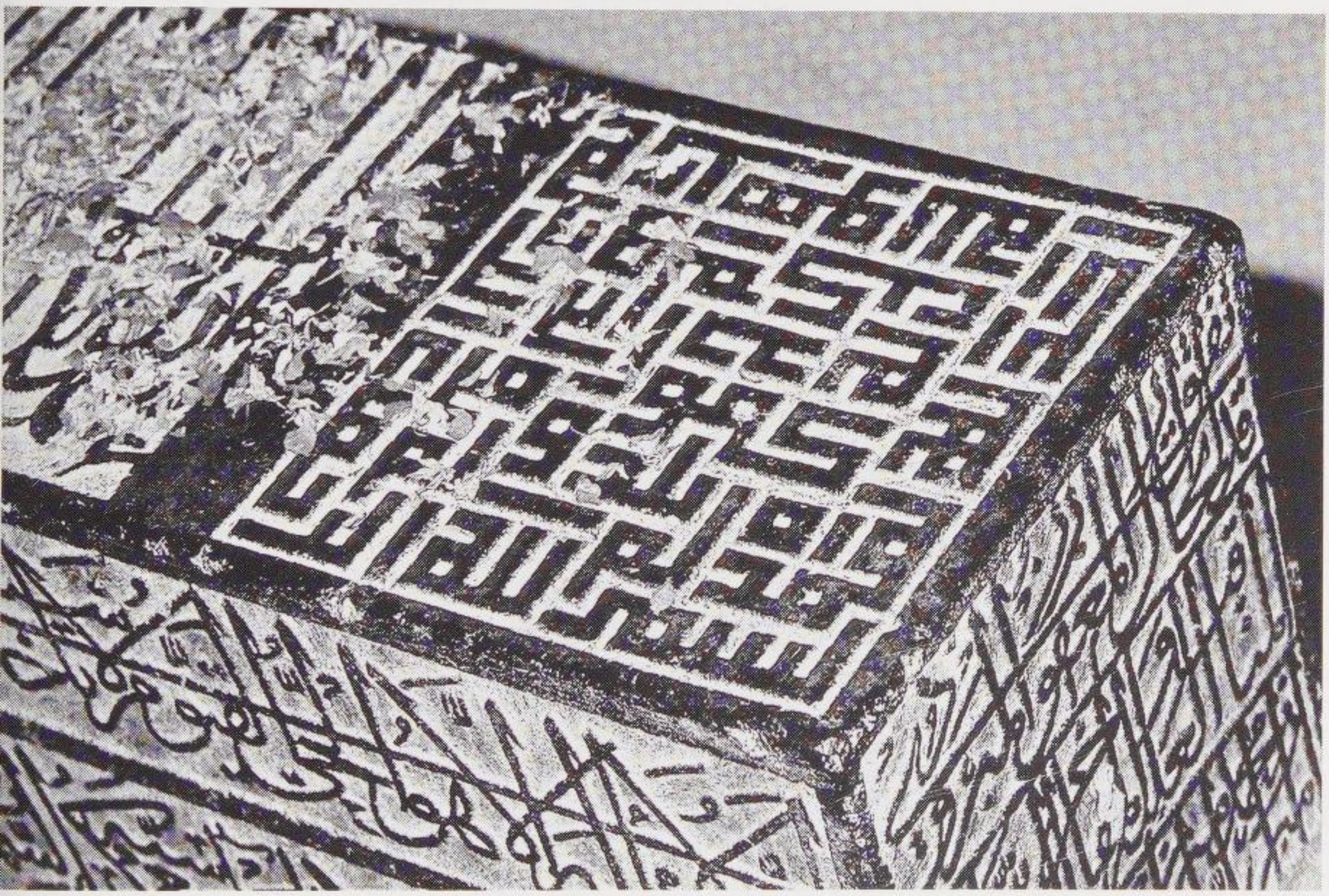


87 Polished black basalt cenotaphs, royal necropolis, Golconda, seventeenth century

88 Detail of corner leg, cenotaph, royal necropolis, Golconda



89 Black basalt inscription, cenotaph of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, royal necropolis, Golconda, 1611



90 Black basalt kufic inscription, cenotaph of prince Mirza Muhammad Amin, royal necropolis, Golconda, 1596

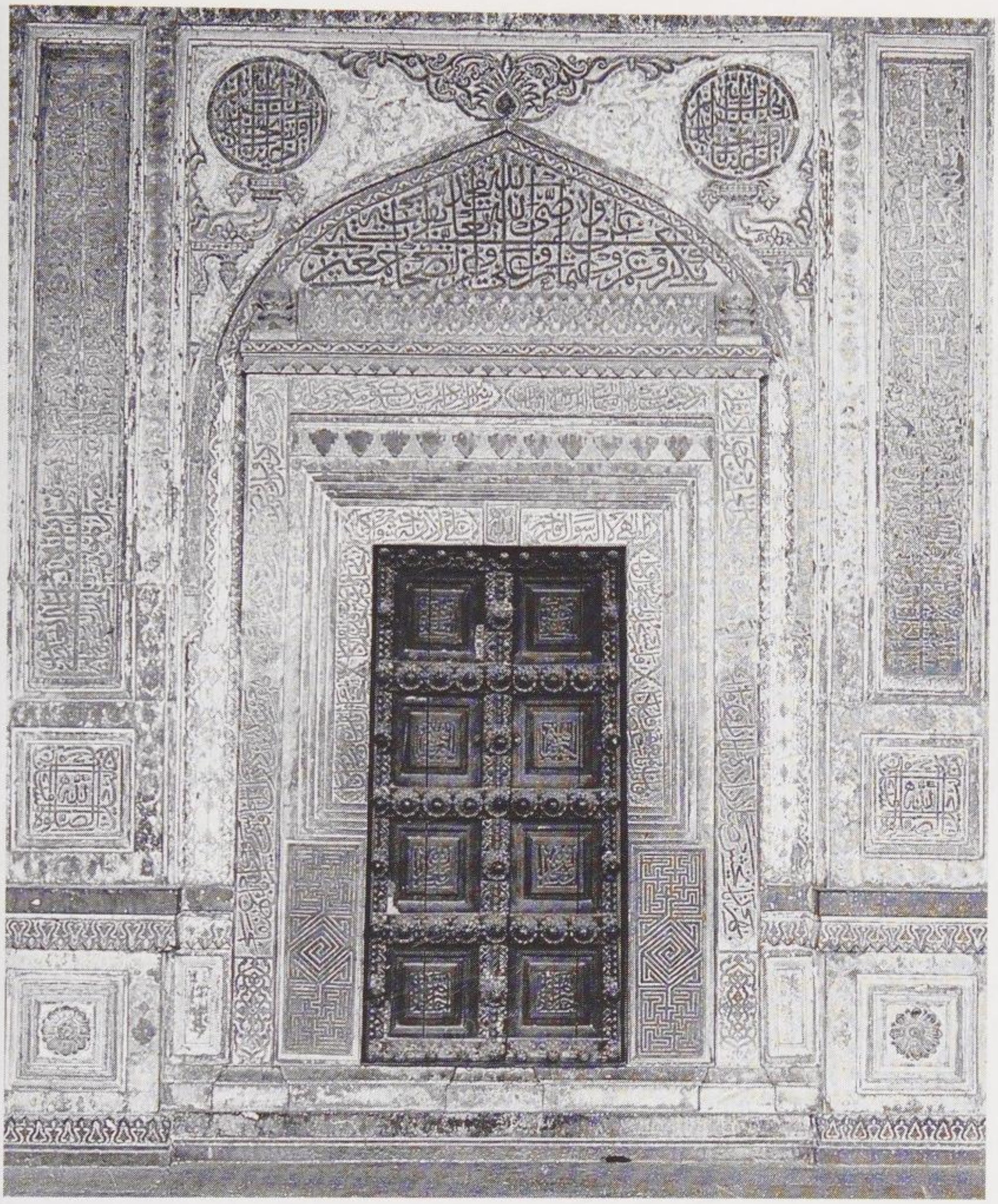
91 Polygonal platform with rays of basalt, hammam, royal necropolis, Golconda, sixteenth century

cenotaphs glisten in the half light of their tomb chambers like powerful symbols of death.

Another extraordinary example of Qutb Shahi stonework is the polygonal platform inside the hammam associated with the royal necropolis. (This was almost certainly used by visiting courtiers and nobles, and was not intended as a mortuary bath as is usually suggested.) More than 2 metres in diameter, this platform is formed of cement with twelve gracefully curving rays of polished black basalt radiating out from a central circle of the same material. Its classically balanced form makes an appropriate setting for courtly bathing (Fig. 91). As in the cenotaphs, this platform was evidently designed by an artist brilliantly sensitive to form and the expressive potential of stone.

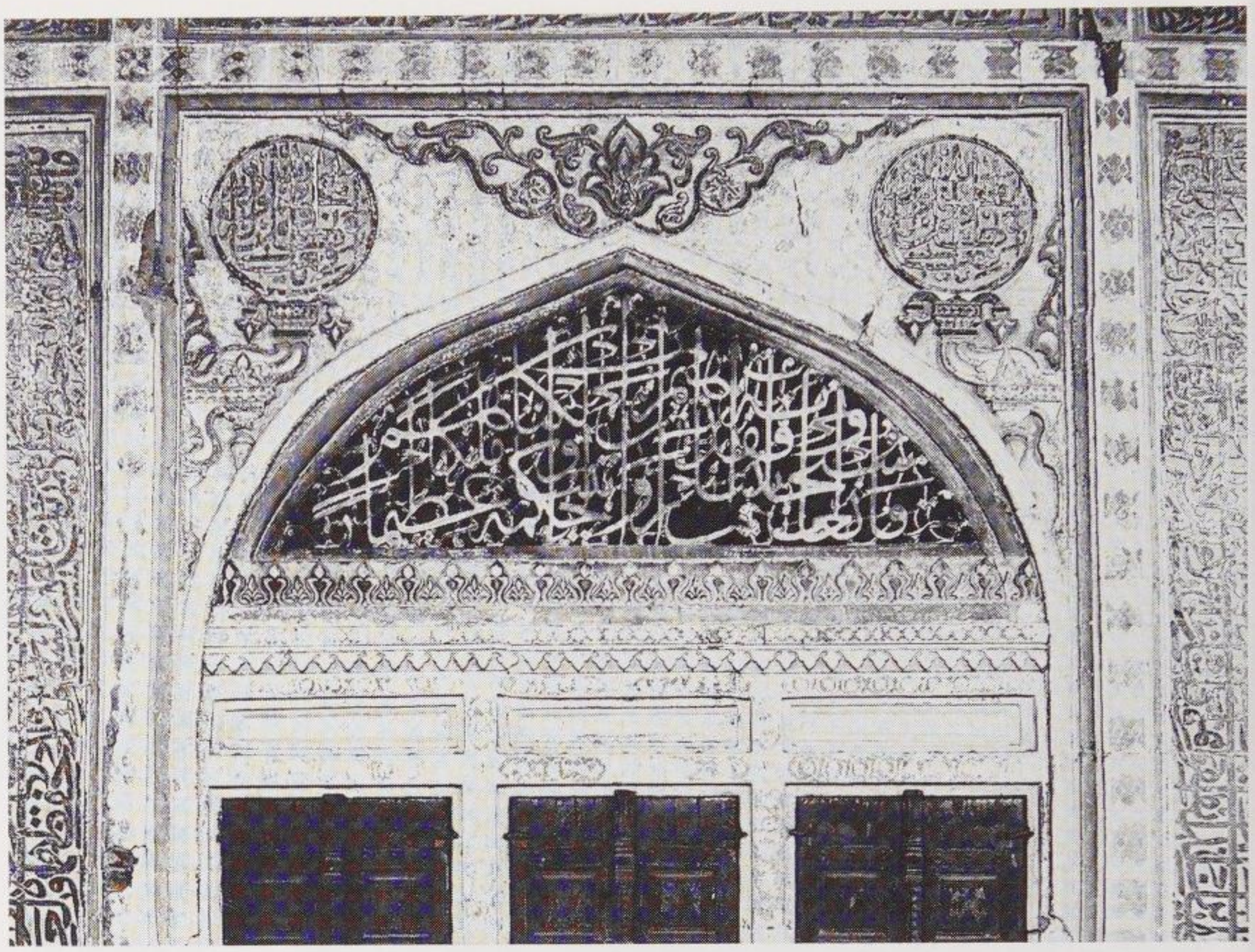
Stone calligraphy also plays a significant role in Adil Shahi architecture. The inscribed slab in the Jami mosque at Raichur, already noted, shows a row of cartouches framing angled bands and a central diamond filled with thuluth, in the manner of textile designs. Similar angled bands and diamond patterns with inscriptions frame the doorways of the sepulchral chamber in the Ibrahim Rauza at Bijapur (Fig. 92). The superb relief work is matched by perforated screens displaying interlocking cut-out letters (Fig. 93). The wall medallions are filled with relief inscriptions.

In contrast, stone calligraphy forms only a minor aspect of Nizam Shahi architectural decoration. The outer surfaces of the tomb of Ahmad Bahri at



92 Carved doorway, tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah II, Bijapur, 1626

Ahmadnagar, for instance, are enhanced by medallions filled with lotuses and Arabic script. Similar motifs also appear in the medallions that surround the arched entrance of the Mahakali gate at Narnala, a late Bahmani monument that anticipates the Nizam Shahi style. The treatment of the small but exquisitely appointed Damri mosque at Ahmadnagar is more elaborate (Fig. 51). Bands of strapwork surround the triple arches of the façade, while a fringe of lotus buds animates the overhang. At either end square buttresses have arched niches alternating with relief medallions, both surrounded by deeply cut foliation. Triple mihrab niches in the

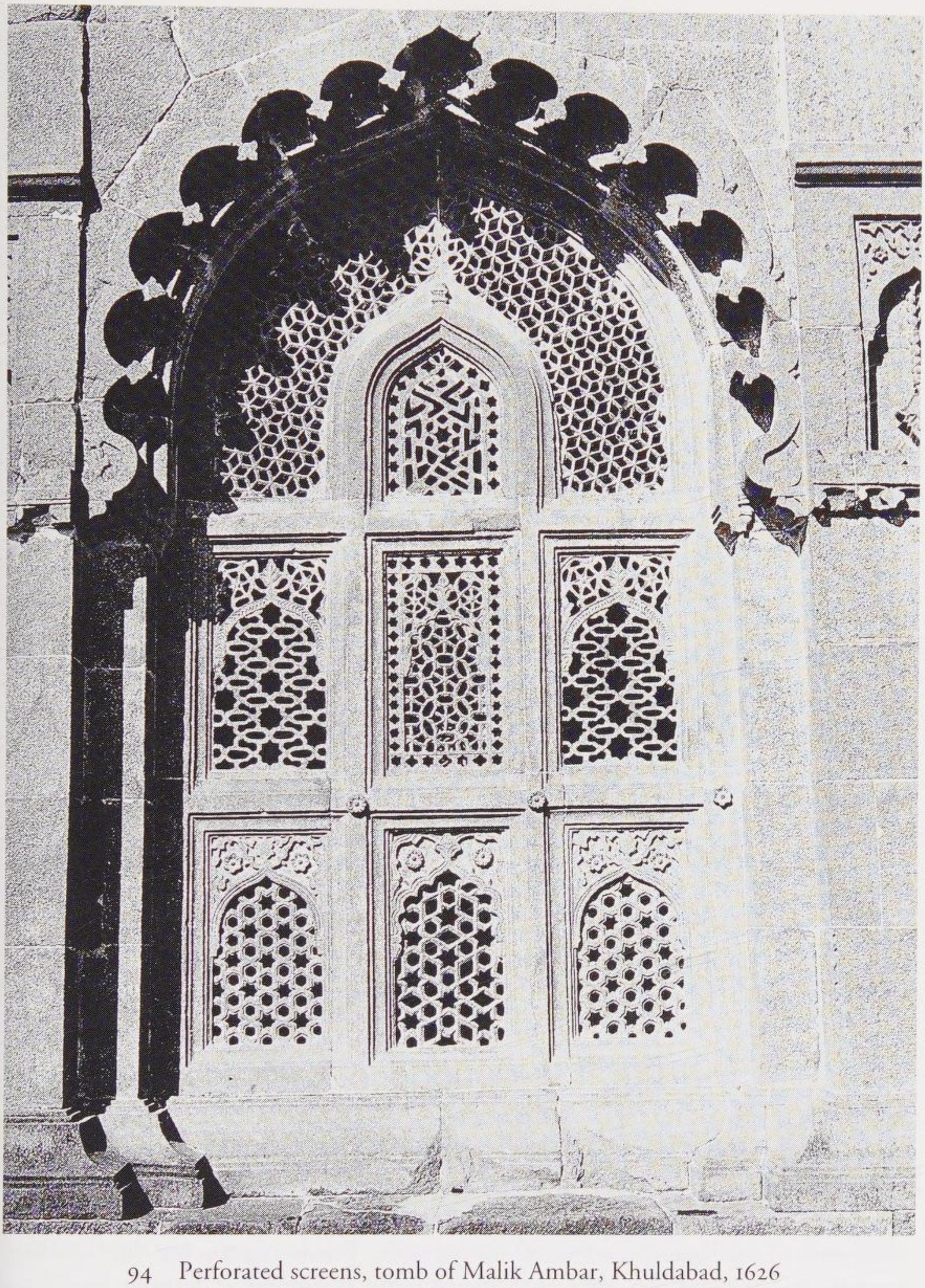


93 Carved calligraphic window and relief medallions, tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah II

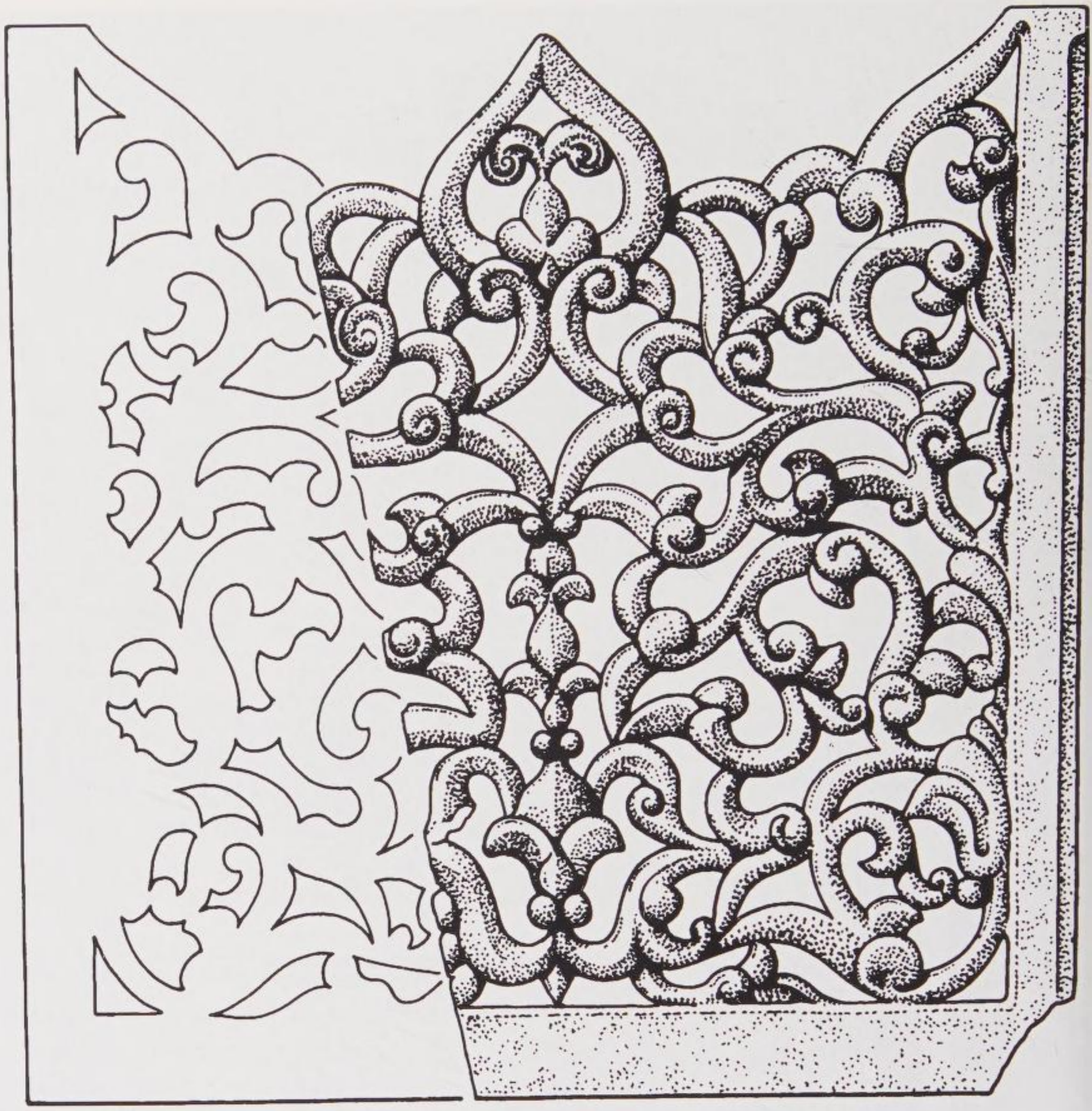
rear wall are framed by geometric ornament, with stylised foliation filling the central recess. Pierced screens with inventive geometric designs are characteristic of Nizam Shahi funerary architecture, as can be seen in the mausoleum of Malik Ambar at Khuldabad (Fig. 94).

Stone carving reaches its most florid expression at Bijapur, as is clear from the richly sculptural treament of brackets, eaves, parapets and finials. All these features are present in miniature form in the crisply detailed Jal Mandir, the plinth and wall surfaces of which are encrusted with tightly packed designs. Sculptural exuberance reaches its zenith in Malika Jahan Begum's mosque. The eaves are carried on double sets of cut-out sinuous brackets adorned with elegant arabesque patterns. Lotus medallions and palmette fringes cover the undersides of the eaves. This ornate treatment is sustained in the parapet where cut-out interlocking elements are combined with palmettes. Fragments of the perforated parapet of the Mihtar-i Mahal show graceful arabesque flourishes in the finest Timurid manner (Fig. 95). That stone chains hanging from eaves also form part of this decorative repertory is demonstrated in the Kali mosque at Lakshmeshwar.

The carving of the Ibrahim Rauza rivals all these examples (Figs. 59–61, 92, 93). Here additional elements are introduced, such as angled struts with animal-like forms beneath the eaves and miniature cut-out finials clustering around the minaret



94 Perforated screens, tomb of Malik Ambar, Khuldabad, 1626



95 Parapet fragment, Mihtar-i Mahal, Bijapur, early seventeenth century

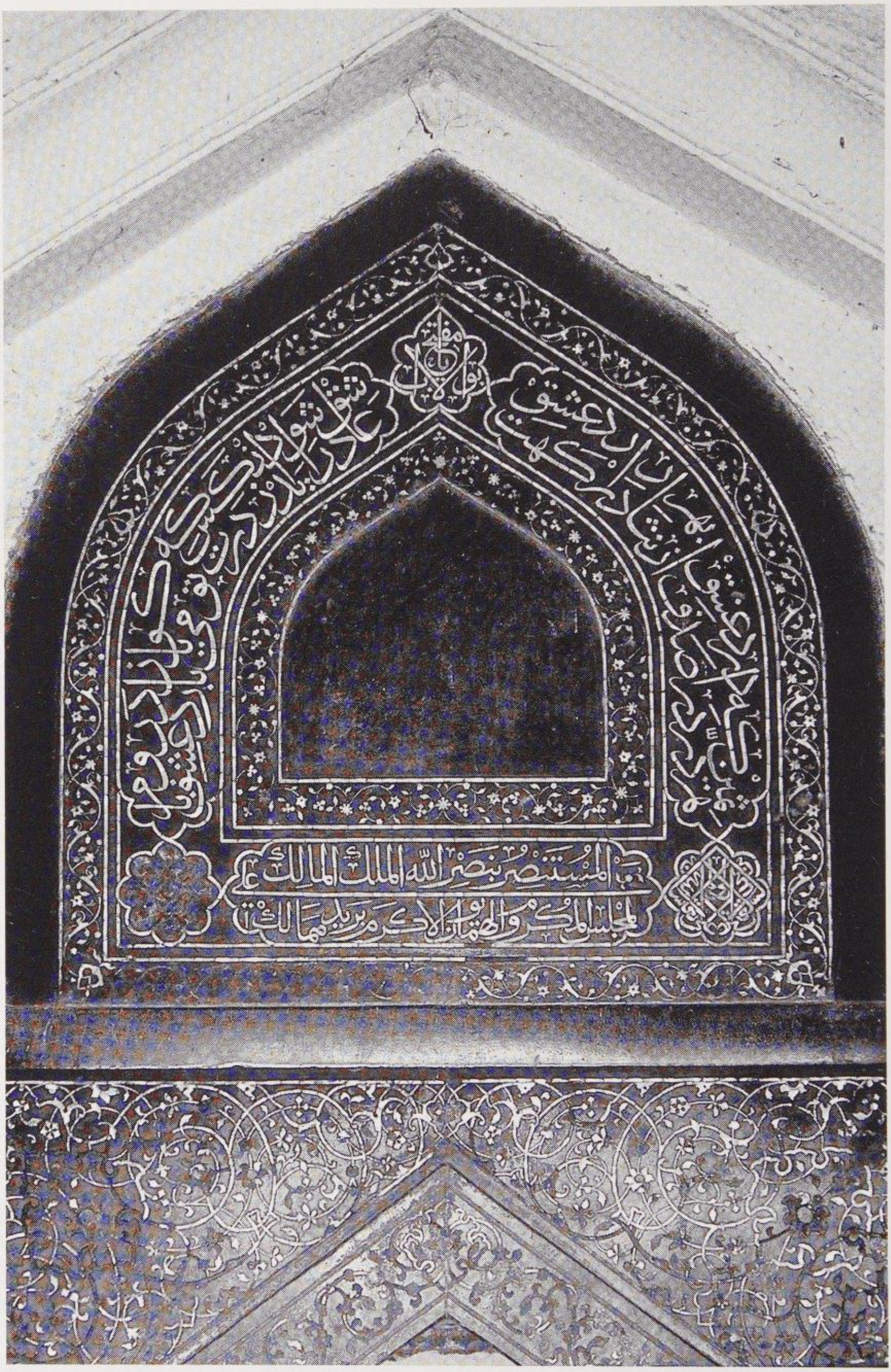
shafts. Geometric and foliate patterns on the outer walls of the sepulchral chamber and the ceiling of the surrounding verandah are unique in their delicacy and variety. They include looped and knotted patterns, bands of flowers connected by curving stalks, and elegant arabesques. The sculptural treatment of the superimposed balconies of the Mihtar-i Mahal shows lions, geese and foliation, both in shallow relief and in cut-out imitation of timberwork. Struts reinforcing the brackets beneath the eaves of the associated mosque are fashioned as leaping beasts on aquatic monsters (Fig. 96).

That carved stonework under the Adil Shahis was by no means confined to religious architecture is demonstrated by the west entryway of the fort at Panhala which displays a remarkable richness of detail. The doorway of the gate facing into

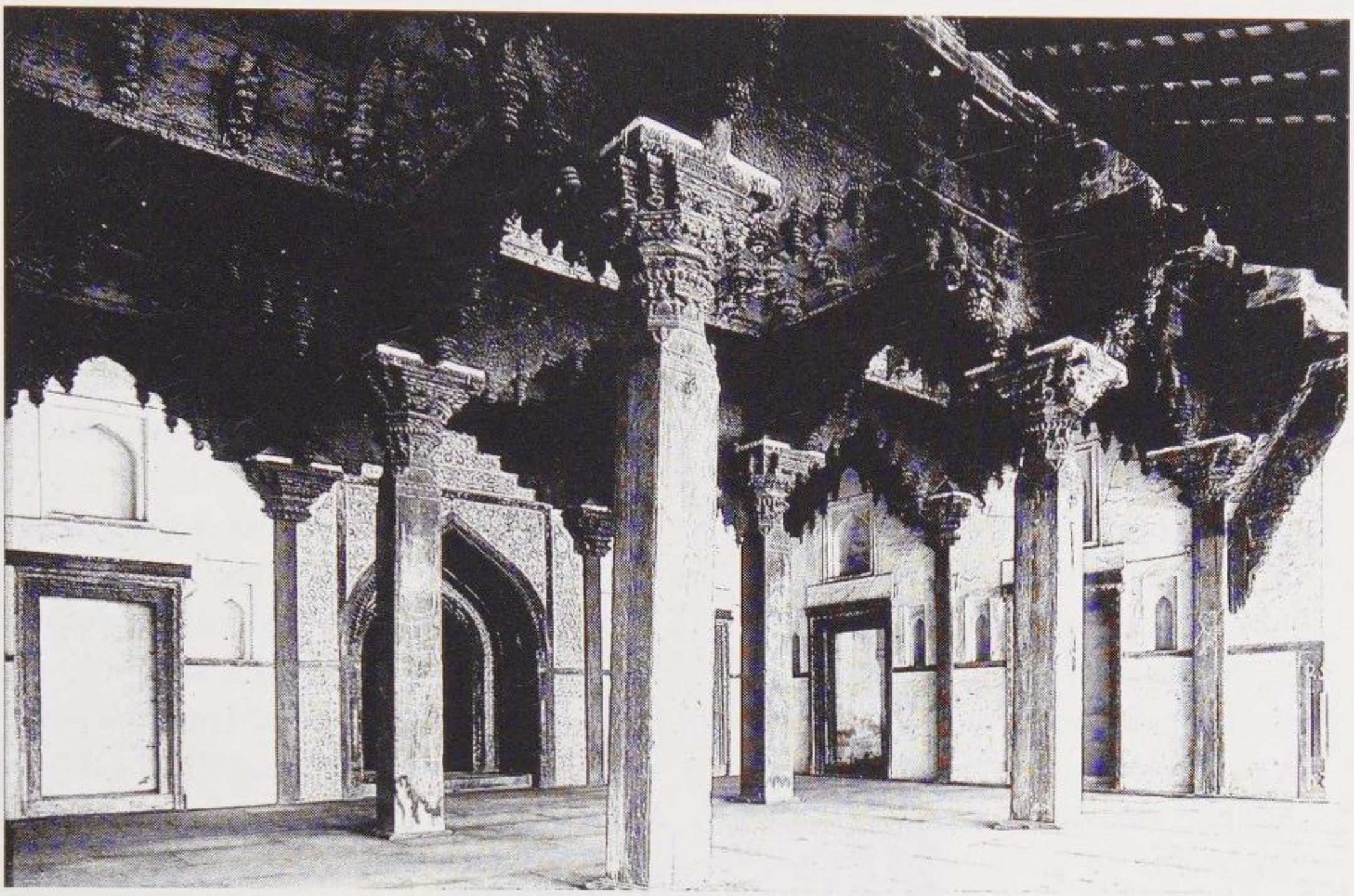
96 Sculpted struts, gateway to Mihtar-i Mahal, Bijapur

the courtyard of this entrance complex is surrounded by bands of relief designs mingling interlocking trefoil parapet elements, medallions filled with arabesques and sinuous bracket motifs.

The only known instance of the luxuriant and highly intricate technique of



97 Inlaid mother-of-pearl panel, Rangin Mahal, Bidar, mid-sixteenth century



98 Wooden columns, Rangin Mahal, Bidar

mother-of-pearl set into polished basalt is associated with the sixteenth-century Baridi rulers. Sumputuously decorated bands and panels depicting flowers, curving tendrils and calligraphy adorn the doorway of the innermost suite of rooms in the Rangin Mahal at Bidar (Fig. 97 and p. 137).

WOODWORK AND METAL CLADDING

Wooden decoration in Deccani architecture can only be studied from the scantiest remains. Probably the earliest examples are the timber columns and brackets set into the plaster walls of the ruined Bahmani palace at Daulatabad. Later woodwork is visible in the Baridi additions to the Rangin Mahal at Bidar (Fig. 98). Free-standing columns and half-columns set into the walls of the principal hall have projecting brackets with triple tiers of pendant buds reinforced by angled struts with fish-like sinuous motifs. The same type of brackets and struts appear in Nizam Shahi and Adil Shahi architecture, though here reproduced in stone. The timber-like quality of these elements is most obvious in the Mihtar-i Mahal at Bijapur.

Only isolated instances of woodwork survive from the Adil Shahi era. Though the wooden columns and panelled ceiling of the double-height portico of the Asar Mahal are probably replacements, the finely worked trellis windows with geometric designs over the panelled doors of the inner chambers are clearly original. A

99 Embossed brass-clad doors, Bibi-ka Maqbara, Aurangabad, 1661

wooden item of interest, though probably also a later addition, is the canopy sheltering Muhammad Adil Shahi's grave within the Gol Gumbad. This has small openings of different designs topped with a gabled roof.

Compared with the paucity of materials for the Sultanate and Mughal eras, an abundance of woodwork survives in Maratha architecture. While the timber portions of the royal residences at Raigad and Pune have been lost, a large number of wadas, or mansions, survive to give some idea of eighteenth-century Deccani wood traditions. Houses in Pune, Wai and Paithan preserve wooden supports with ornate shafts, curving brackets with fully sculpted leaves and buds, and struts with animal and bird-like motifs. Doorways are surrounded by sculpted jambs, with lines of pendant buds or acanthus leaves on the lintels. Panelled walls and ceilings have wooden pieces fitted into frames with different geometric designs. Balconies with arched openings are surrounded by richly worked floral borders.

Metal cladding still remains on some of the doors in the defensive entryways to Deccan forts, for example the geometric designs in iron strapwork on the inner door of the Fateh gate at Golconda. By far the most sophisticated metal cladding is seen in the Bibi-ka Maqbara at Aurangabad (Fig. 99). Brass-covered doors with embossed designs of flowering plants in the most refined Mughal manner lead to

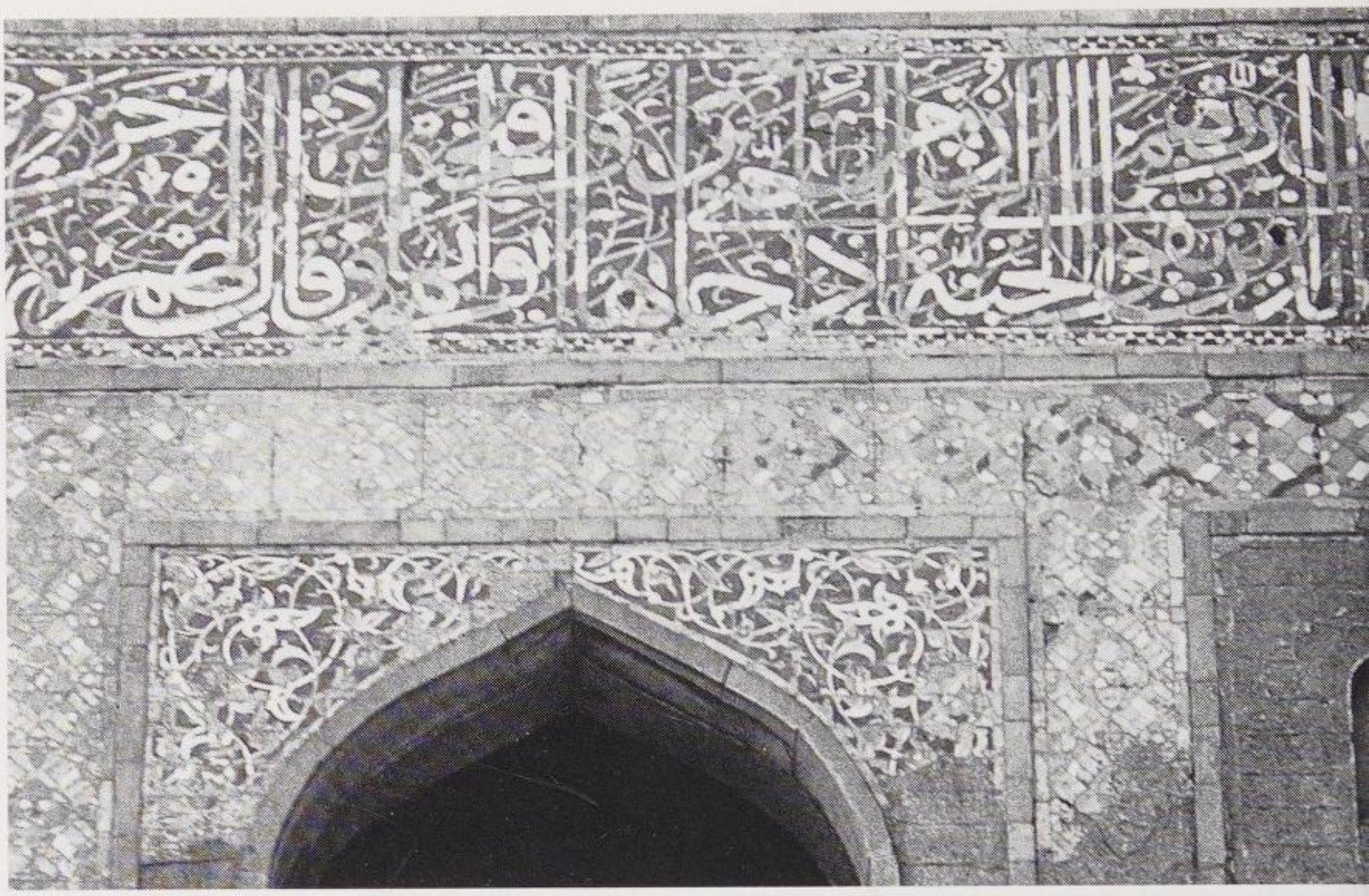
the steps ascending to the central terrace of the tomb. Similar work is also seen in the main gate of the complex.

GLAZED TILEWORK

Only after the move to Bidar did the Bahmanis turn to tilework as the major source of colour in their buildings. Its splendour is still apparent on the monuments of the city, though the tilework has inevitably deteriorated because of India's monsoonal climate. Two techniques were especially popular: cut tiles, in which a mosaic was created from separately coloured tiles shaped and fitted together to create complicated designs, and underglaze painted tiles, in which patterns with different colours were painted onto a tile, before glazing and firing. Yet a third technique, known in Europe as cuerda seca, was occasionally also practised, in which colours added to the tiles were separated by a sticky substance which leaves a dark line after firing. These different ceramic procedures were brought to peninsular India directly from the Middle East, rather than via North India. The remarkable similarity of Deccani cuerda seca tiles to similar work in mosques at Bursa and Edirne suggests also the possibility of artistic influence from Ottoman Turkey. In spite of this close relationship to foreign models, Deccani tilework often equals and even surpasses Iranian and Turkish examples, both technically and aesthetically. The individual pieces of Deccani tile mosaic are so perfectly joined that a fluidity of line is achieved which rivals the effects of fine underglazed painted panels, like those of the best period from Iznik in Turkey. (This fineness is never achieved in Iran where the joints are always clearly visible.) The depth of colour of Deccani tilework is also rarely matched by Iranian examples. In short, although the impetus for tile revetments came from the Middle East, the quality of most Deccani tilework surpasses its models.

Magnificent panels created from underglaze painted tiles once covered the lower portions of the walls in the chambers opening off the audience hall in the Diwan-i Am at Bidar. Among the varied compositions recorded before the tiles mysteriously disappeared were bold geometric, arabesque and calligraphic patterns in blue, turquoise and yellow, all in the most refined manner. Royal sun and tiger emblems depicted on hexagonal tiles once filled the spandrels of the portal facing into the courtyard of the Takht Mahal.

Elsewhere in Bidar, architectural tilework conforms to the mosaic technique. That remaining on Mahmud Gawan's madrasa rivals the finest Timurid workmanship of Central Asia and Iran and presents a ceramic analogue of the black basalt panels of the tomb of Shaykh Khalilullah. The madrasa was once entirely covered in tiles, but now only the surviving single minaret and the façade next to it retain a substantial quantity (Fig. 100). A monumental band of calligraphy filling the horizontal space between the arched recesses and the roof contains a Koranic verse (XXXIX, 73–4) written in elegant thuluth designed by the calligrapher Ali as-Sufi.



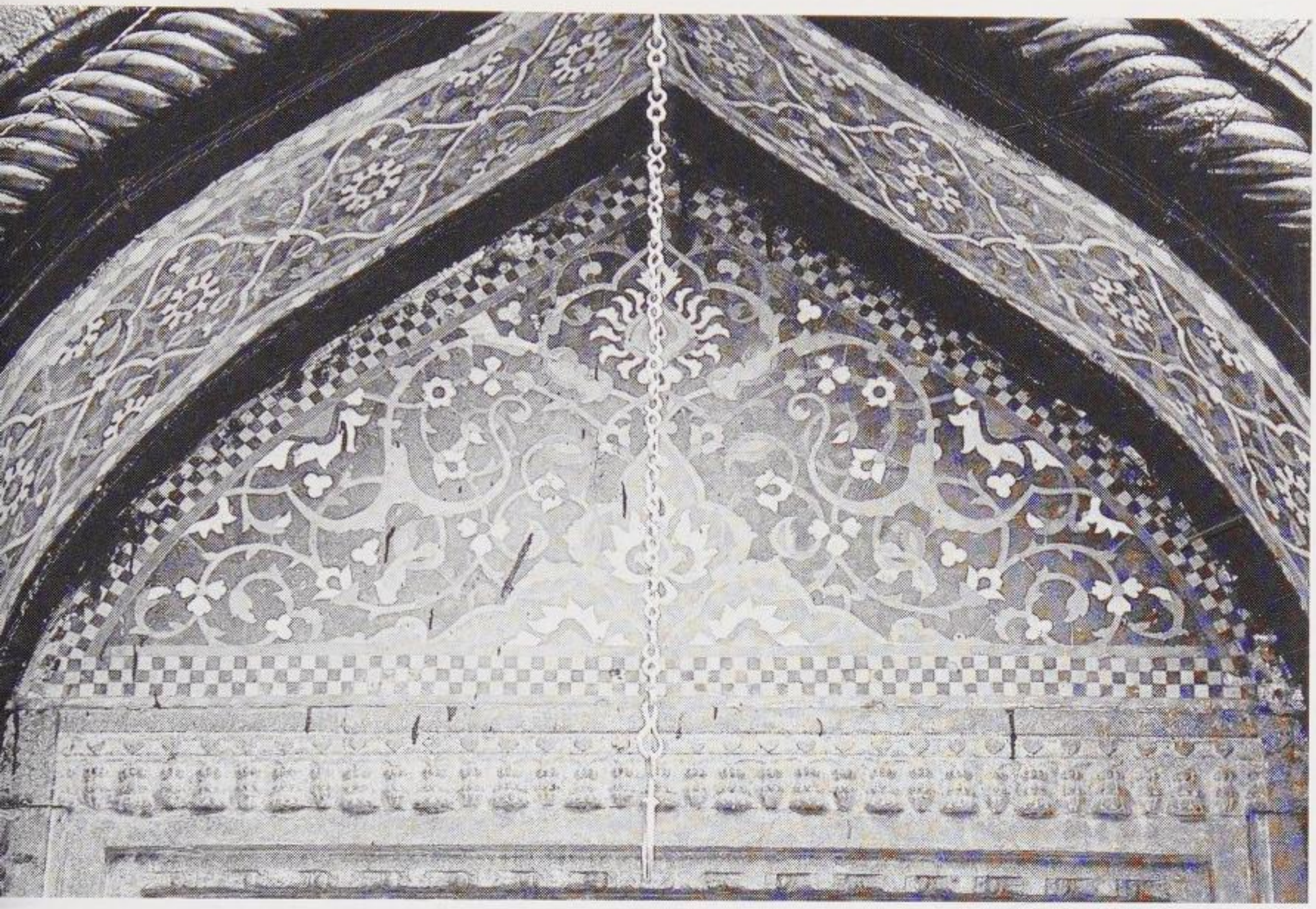
100 Calligraphic bands in tile mosaic, madrasa of Mahmud Gawan, Bidar, 1472

The letters in white upon pale blue volutes are set against a dark blue background. This composition contrasts with the shimmering chevron pattern of glazed bricks in turquoise, blue, yellow and white covering the cylindrical minaret shaft.

The tomb of Alauddin Ahmad II was also covered with tiles, but only the arched recesses of the principal façade contain enough to give some idea of the original splendour. The technique here is cuerda seca, with designs of interlocking split-leaf palmettes, leaves and stems, mainly blue and white contained within a yellow border. (The motifs show considerable similarity to those on the fifteenth-century cuerda seca mihrabs of the Green Mosque in Bursa and the Muradiyye mosque in Edirne, the outstanding masterpieces of early Ottoman art, except that the Bidar designs are even more energetic, rather like the effect of fluttering wings.)

Better preserved are the tiled panels on the tomb of Hazrat Shah Abul Faid outside Bidar (Fig. 101). The main entrance is decorated with mosaic tiles in the arch above the door – enclosed within a black basalt frame carved in spiral designs – in the spandrels and on the side walls. These tiles are significant for the impressively large scale of their motifs, reminiscent of carpet designs, and for the fact that they represent the earliest instance of a specifically Deccani colour scheme. Along with the turquoise, blue and white which we have already noted in the tilework of the other Bidar monuments, uniquely Indian tones of rich mustard-yellow and grass-green also make their appearance, colours repeated in later times, not only in the Deccan but in Delhi, Lahore and Kashmir as well.

The later Baridi Shahs also used tiles extensively. The masterpiece of their



101 Panel of tile mosaic over gateway, tomb of Shah Abul Faid, Bidar, 1474

contribution to this medium is the interior of the Rangin Mahal, one of the most exquisitely decorated apartments ever built under Islamic rule in India. The spacious columned hall once had its walls entirely covered with tilework, but this only survives around the black basalt arched doorway leading into the royal chamber (Fig. 98). Crossing this threshold, we pass into an enchanted world. The dadoes are covered with superb mosaic tiles in elegantly restrained patterns (see Colour Plate 13). The colours are mainly blue and white, with the inclusion of mustard-yellow and grass-green. The nearly black basalt archways above the tiles are inlaid with exquisite floral arabesque patterns in iridescent mother-of-pearl (see Fig. 97). The modest dimensions of this royal chamber, its star-shaped plan, its rich tilework and the pink and green tones of the mother-of-pearl sparkling in the semi-darkness all contribute to an overpowering sense of fantasy and refinement, like the mysterious atmosphere of early Deccani painting.

Yet further instances of Baridi tilework are seen in the mausoleum of Ali Barid Shah at Bidar. Though the panels above the main arches here are now devoid of tiles, perhaps never added, the interior of the sepulchral chamber still preserves splendid mosaics with poetic quotations in thuluth style. Bands of Koranic texts on the upper parts of the walls are animated by floral backgrounds and borders in blue, turquoise, white and yellow.

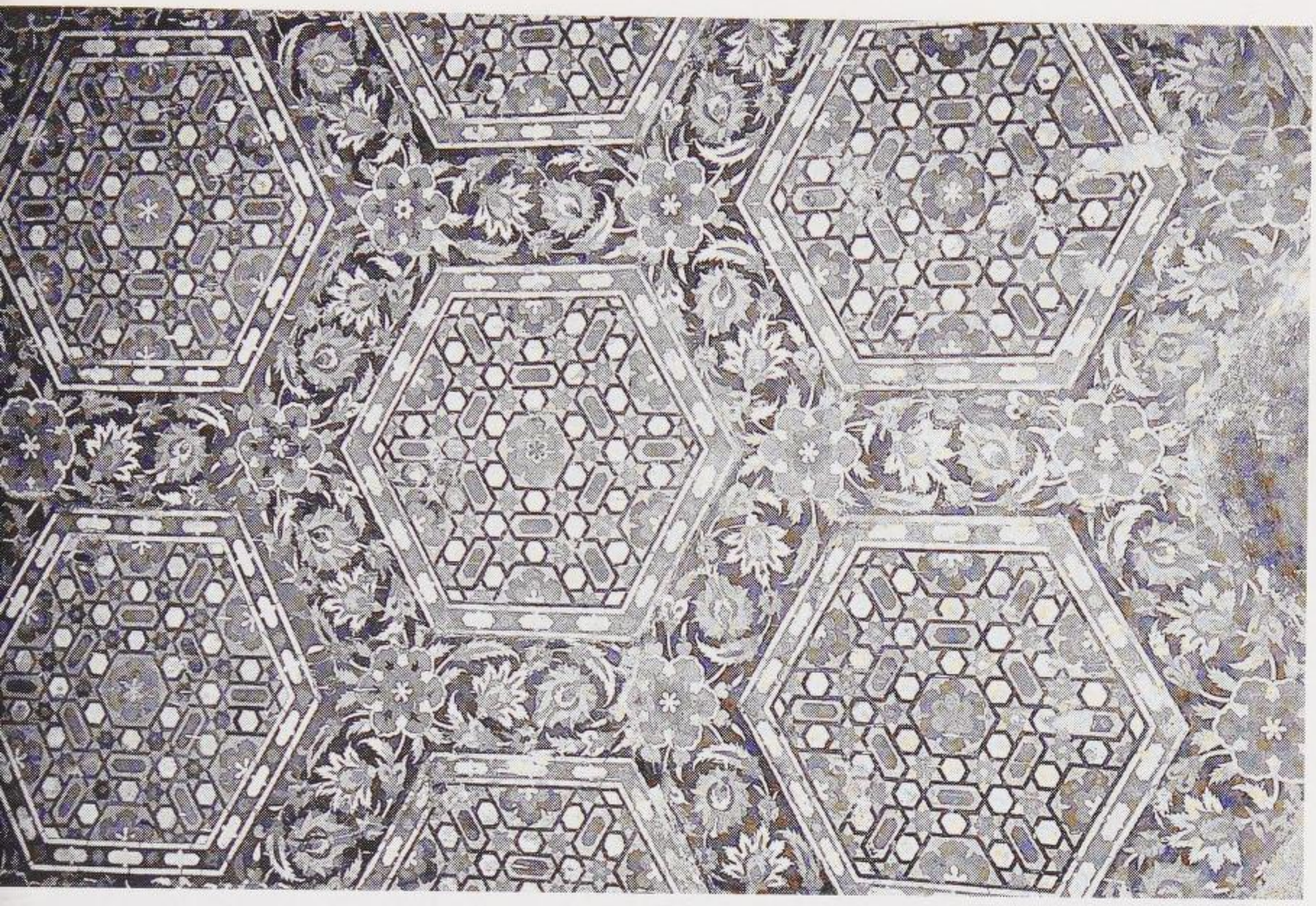
Judging from the fragmentary evidence of surviving tilework, the Qutb Shahs of Golconda were the ultimate Deccani patrons of this craft. Like their Turkman

ancestors in the Middle East, they were fervent Shias and were much given to constructing halls to accommodate the annual ceremonies commemorating the martyrdom of Husain, the Prophet's grandson. The finest of these Shia halls, the Badshahi Ashurkhana in Hyderabad, was constructed in 1596 by Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. In 1611 its interior walls were covered in mosaic tiles, the finest in India, forming one of the most original decorative schemes of its kind anywhere in the Muslim world. The Badshahi Ashurkhana tiles are arranged in large panels, more than 3 metres high and more than 1 metre wide. The remarkably brilliant colours are mainly blue and white, in addition to specifically Indian tones of mustard-yellow and grass-green and a mellow terracotta. (These hues are almost never seen in the Middle East, except for a brief period in the early sixteenth century at Iznik where cuerda seca tiles containing similar greens and yellows were produced; they lack, however, the depth of tone so exceptional in the Deccani examples.)

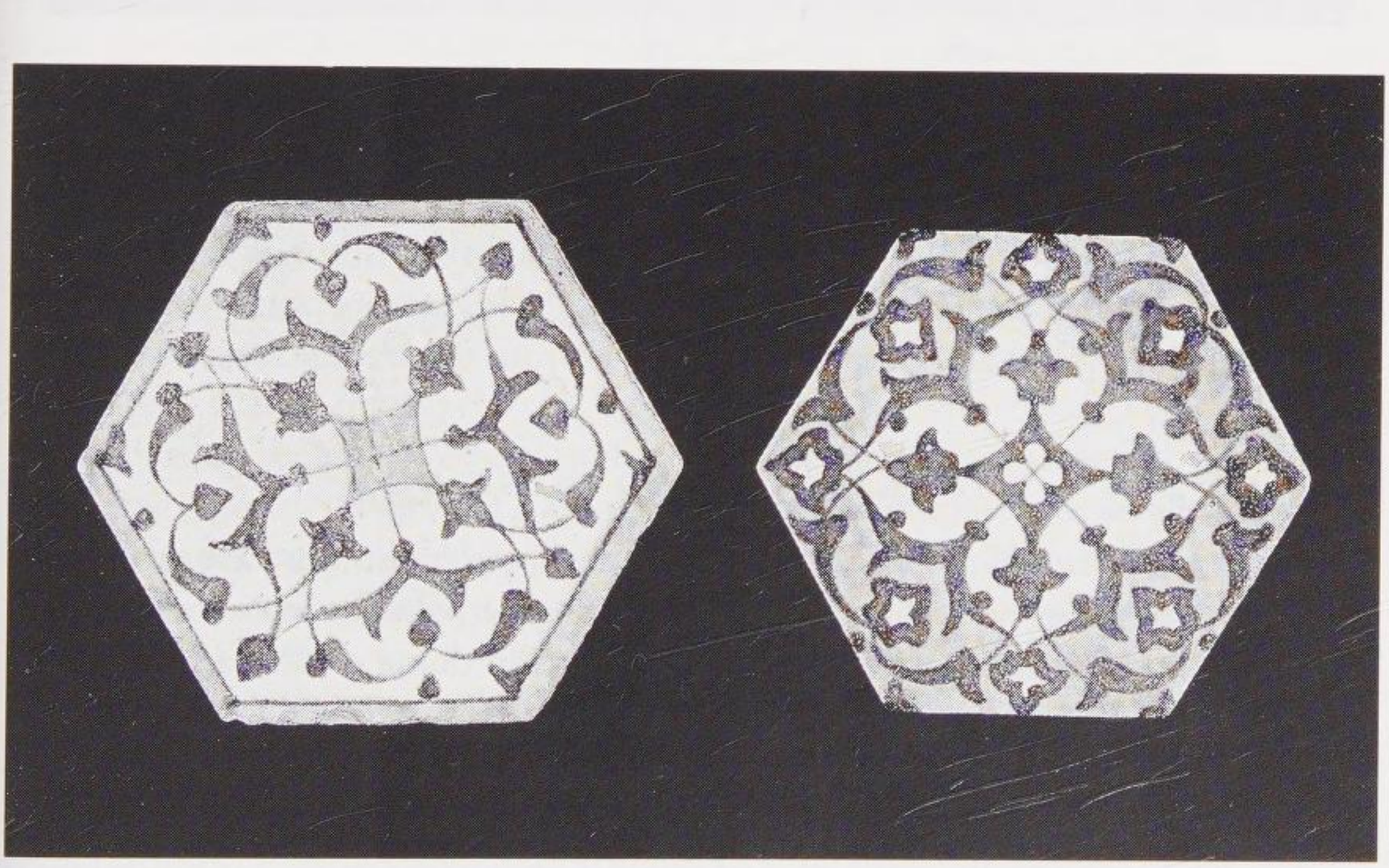
Three of the Badshahi Ashurkhana panels are noteworthy. One represents a giant alam, a religious metal standard symbolising the battle standards carried by Husain and his followers at Kerbala. This tear-shaped alam contains bold Arabic script, written both right-side round and mirror reversed (see Colour Plate 14). It is flanked by two smaller alams with addorsed roaring dragons and flame-like projections, remarkably like the actual metal alams preserved in the adjacent storeroom (see Fig. 181). A second panel has designs of staggered hexagons containing jewel-like shapes connected by grand arabesque swirls (Fig. 102). On a third panel a massive pot-of-plenty overflows with twisting and turning vegetation (see Colour Plate 15). The extravagance of these motifs coupled with the fluidity of their design – the mosaic pieces are fitted so precisely that from a distance the panels seem to be frescoed rather than tiled – produces an effect of delirious energy. It is very likely that the royal tombs at Golconda were once entirely covered with mosaic faience as well, as a small patch of similar tilework survives on the upper walls of the tomb of Ibrahim Qutb Shah.

Underglaze painted tiles had less popularity in the Deccan than mosaic tiles. There are, however, two tiles in the British Museum, London, with simple but lively designs in underglaze cobalt blue and turquoise, said to have come from Bijapur (Fig. 103). They resemble the cruder blue and white tiles of Sindh and Punjab, but also show a connection with tiles from sixteenth-century Damascus. The London pieces are similar to excavated fragments dug out of the palace of the Bahmani governor at Goa which was destroyed with the arrival of the Portuguese. (Comparable tiles decorated with designs of grape vines still adorn the walls of the seventeenth-century convent of Santa Monica in Old Goa.)

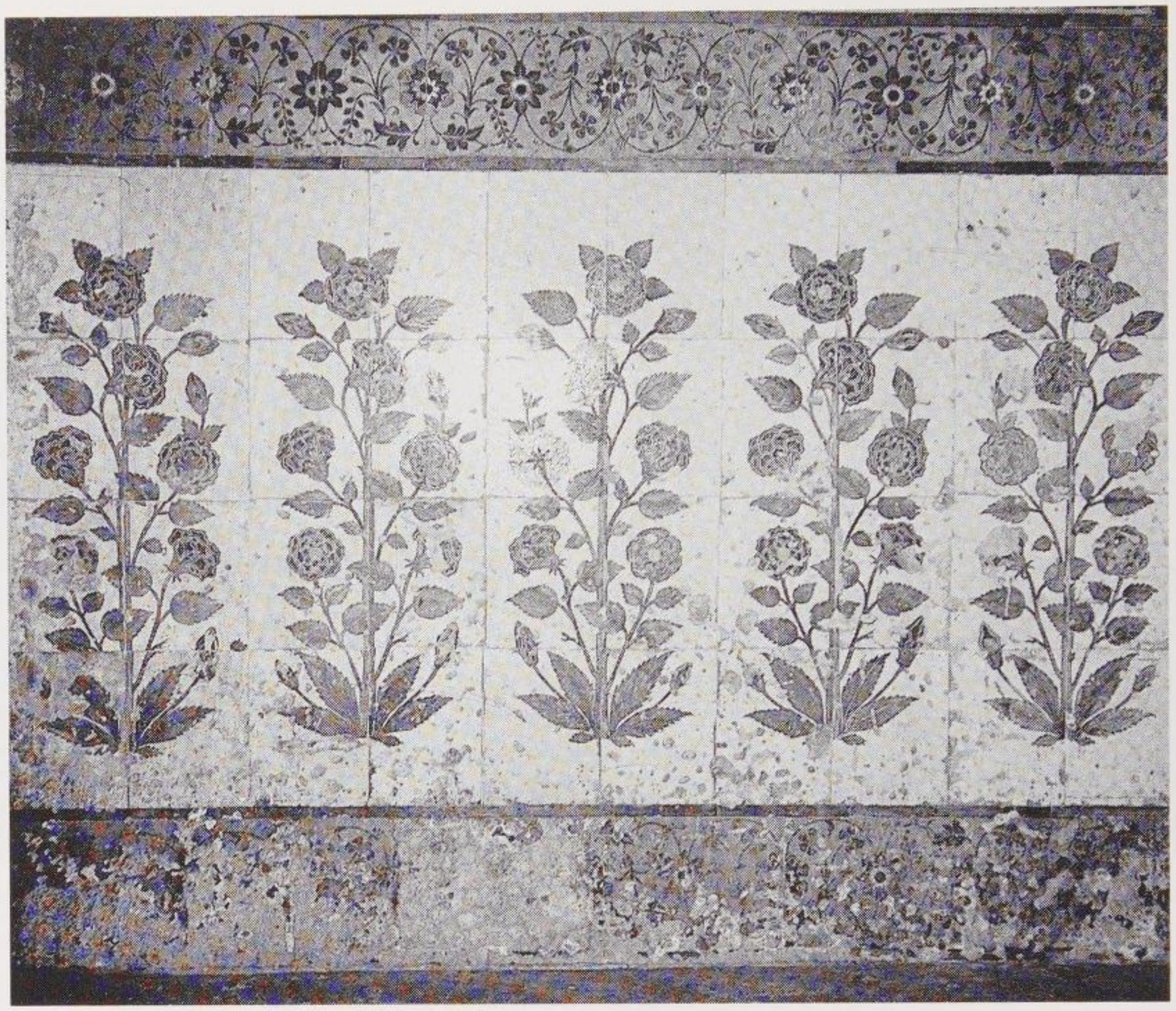
Underglaze painted tilework with noticeably different motifs was introduced into the Deccan by the Mughals. The most accomplished examples are the dadoes inside the gateway to the Bibi-ka Maqbara at Aurangabad (Fig. 104). These are decorated with tall vertical panels of flowering rosebushes, reminiscent of the



102 Hexagonal designs, tile mosaic, Badshahi Ashurkhana, Hyderabad, 1611



103 Underglaze painted tiles, Bijapur, sixteenth century



104 Flowering rose bushes, underglaze painted tiles, Bibi-ka Maqbara, Aurangabad, 1661

tiled flowers of the dargah of Shaykh Bakhtiyar Kaki in Delhi, added in the redecoration of the complex by Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Although the designs of the Aurangabad flowers are taken from the classical Mughal repertoire, their strange palette of white, green and purplish-pink comes from the Deccani world.

WALL AND CEILING PAINTINGS

The record of paintings in Deccan palaces and tombs is even more incomplete than that of coloured tilework. The only examples from the Bahmani era to be spared to any extent are those that cover the interior walls and dome of Ahmad I's mausoleum outside Bidar (Fig. 105). Though now much faded, the original vermilion and gold scheme can still be made out. Panels below are filled with expanding geometric patterns; bands above show cartouches of stylised arabesques and calligraphy in superimposed thuluth and nastaliq. The dome is highlighted with concentric bands of calligraphy, the outermost band interrupted by eight hexagons filled with the name of Ali in kufic script and fringed with elegant palmettes of arabesque ornament. The area of the dome around this composition is occupied by cartouches

105 Painted ceiling, tomb of Ahmad I, Bidar, 1436

incorporating the names of the twelve Shia teachers in geometric kufic, as well as flowering plants with curving stalks. These painted compositions are closely linked to contemporary Timurid and early Ottoman carpet designs and manuscript illustrations, once again demonstrating direct artistic contacts between the Deccan and the Middle East.

Fragmentary remains at Bijapur indicate that painting also flourished under the Adil Shahis. The carved mihrab in the Jami mosque preserves traces of extravagant paintwork on crisply modelled gesso. The spandrels above the arch are filled with leafy tendrils bursting into fanciful blue and purple flowers on a rich golden background (Fig. 106). Here too are *trompe-l'œil* depictions of books in low relief, painted rich golds and browns to suggest embossed leather bindings (Fig. 107). But the glory of the mihrab is the treatment of the faceted part-dome, where cal-

106 Arabesque, painted gesso on stone, mihrab, Jami mosque, Bijapur, 1636

ligraphic alams, some on chains, are surrounded by elegant leafy tendrils (see Colour Plate 16). These magnificent compositions combine the formality of Middle Eastern pictorial traditions with the luxuriant naturalism of the Deccan.

Murals in the Asar Mahal at Bijapur are of equal interest. The original courtly purpose of this building, before its conversion into a sacred reliquary in 1646, is revealed by wall paintings in one of the upper-floor chambers. Though now severely damaged, the figures in these compositions have been identified as courtly women and their attendants: seated on a throne, dressing a naked child, eating and drinking, playing musical instruments, and receiving a man clad only in a thin piece of cloth. The crowded scenes, the varied postures and the shaded limbs and costumes have suggested to some observers the possibility of the involvement of European artists. More likely, the paintings are the work of Deccani artists familiar with foreign paintings or prints.

A second smaller upper-floor chamber in the Asar Mahal rivals the Rangin Mahal at Bidar for its harmonious proportions and exquisite decoration. It brings to mind those magical pavilions 'painted by the artists of China', metaphors of

107 *Trompe-l'œil* books, painted gesso on stone, mihrab, Jami mosque, Bijapur

perfection, mentioned in Persian mystical poetry. Arched niches in this room have their recesses painted with vases of plenty in shimmering gold and lapis lazuli (see Colour Plate 12). These vases are composed of energetic arabesque patterns similar to fifteenth-century Timurid design. (They are particularly close to the chinoiserie fantasies of fifteenth-century scroll fragments representing exotic bridal processions mounted in Album H.2153 in the Topkapı Saray, Istanbul.) Between these niches are nineteenth-century patterns of flowering creepers painted over the original designs.

Paintings on the walls and vaults of one of the pavilions at the pleasure resort at Kummatgi can now only be studied through old photographs. They include depictions of courtly pastimes, such as a polo match complete with horses and players, wrestling, drinking and music-making. Europeans in formal dress, possibly envoys to the Adil Shahi court, also appear, some posed beside a tree with curiously shaped birds. The grouping of the figures as well as the deep shading of the limbs and robes suggests a knowledge of European artistic traditions.

Substantial evidence for mural painting is available in Maratha architecture. While the major pictorial compositions that adorned eighteenth-century palaces at

Satara and Pune have now been lost, paintings of the period survive at lesser centres. In many respects, they bear a close relationship to illustrations in contemporary manuscripts. Mansions and temples at Wai preserve some of the finest Maratha paintings. Wall panels in the Joshi Manavalikar Wada are dedicated to religious topics, such as multi-armed Durga slaying the buffalo demon Mahisha, and Krishna seated with a crowd of gopis. The style exploits traditional South Indian conventions, but the floral borders, repeated on the throne on which Krishna sits, are familiar from contemporary manuscripts. Panels in the Nana Phadnis Wada, also at Wai, are closer to miniature painting. One scene shows women bathing beneath a tree, the figures arranged in static postures. The walled garden in front and the landscape beyond are delineated with little concern for depth. The composition is set in a lobed recess animated with painted floral borders.

Wall panels in the Moti Baug at Wai are of greater merit. The paintings are framed by graceful floral borders typical of the Maratha idiom. Both courtly and religious topics appear, including a scene with Garuda and Hanuman worshipping Vishnu. The figures stand in shrines complete with decorated columns, lobed arches and multi-tiered pyramidal towers. Flowering trees beneath and cloudy skies above derive from the miniature tradition. Another panel shows women at their toilet, the figures seated within a formal palace-like setting. The colours are bright and flat, exactly as on paper. Other paintings of the period are seen in temples at Pune (see chapter 8), where wall niches and ceilings are invariably enhanced by graceful floral borders.

CHAPTER 5

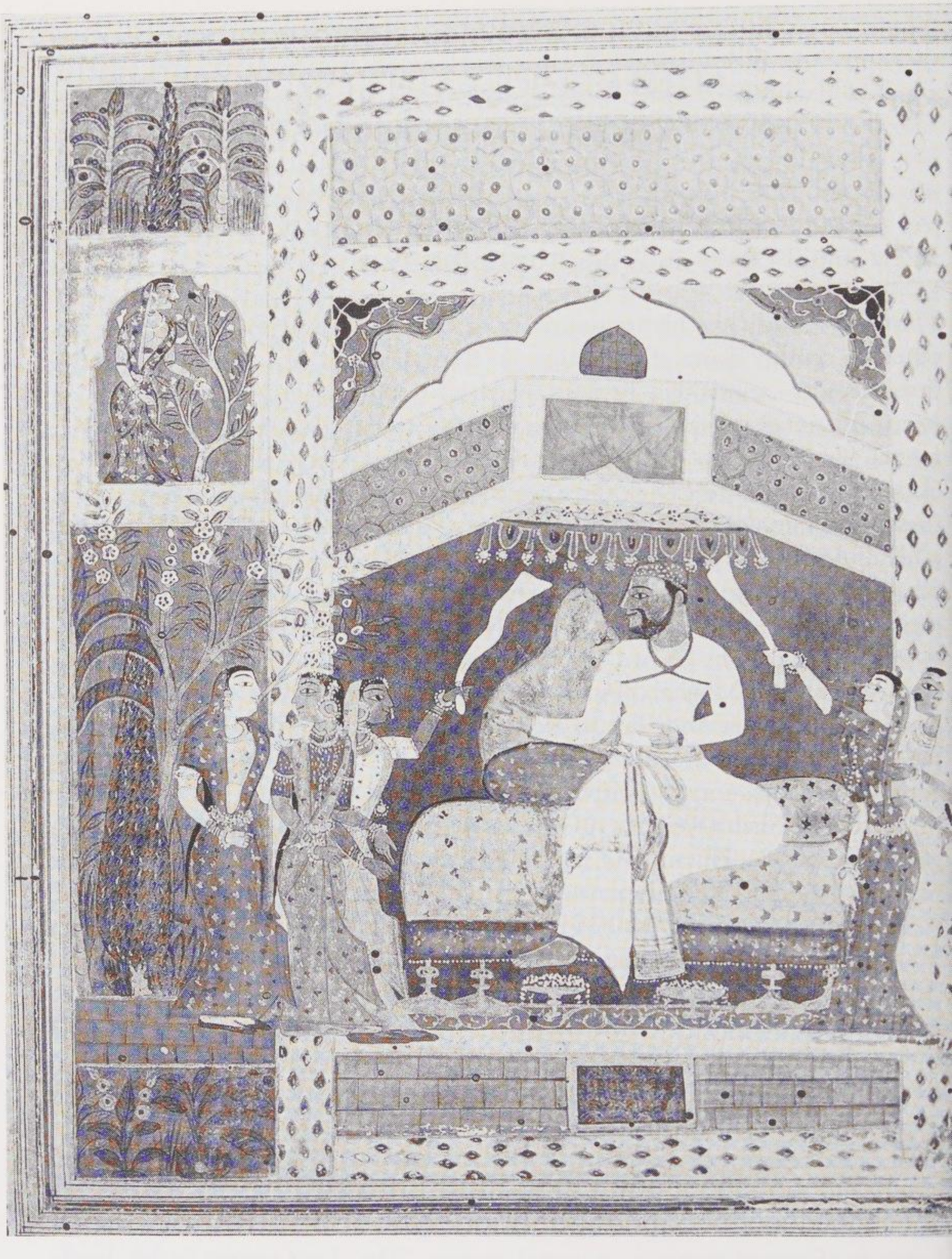
MINIATURE PAINTING: AHMADNAGAR AND BIJAPUR

AHMADNAGAR

The briefest and most mysterious phase of Deccani painting occurred at the late sixteenth-century court of Ahmadnagar. Brief, because, all told, it lasted barely three decades; mysterious, because we know nothing of its antecedents nor its aftermath, nor even the identities of its principal artists and patrons. All that survive are the illustrations to a historical manuscript which can be considered the 'pre-classical' phase of the school, three great 'classical' portraits of remarkable power, these latter amongst the most profound and subtle images India has produced, and a handful of drawings which, although fine works of art in their own right and obviously related to the three great portraits in style and costume, do not quite measure up to them in expressive power. This artistic tradition – if a school of such short duration can be termed a tradition – was a mere flash of artistic brilliance, snuffed out by the Mughal conquest in 1600. We assume of course that the original production of art at Ahmadnagar was substantially larger than what has survived the vicissitudes of history, though we doubt that any of the Deccani centres approached in quantity the output of the Mughal school.

The Nizam Shahis were the ruling dynasty, and three sultans seem to have been generous patrons: Husain and his sons Murtaza I and Burhan II. The earliest surviving paintings illustrate a manuscript of the history of the reign of Husain; the text composed by Aftabi, entitled the *Tarif-i Husain Shahi*, is now in the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Pune. Husain led the alliance with the sultans of Golconda, Bijapur and Bidar which defeated the Hindu empire of Vijayanagara in January 1565. He died five months later. The *Tarif* praises Husain and his wife Khanzada Humayun, describes the defeat of the Vijayanagara army, but does not mention the sultan's death. We conclude that the manuscript was produced in about 1565, between the sultan's victory and his death.

The text stresses the rule of both Husain and Khanzada Humayun. Such political prominence was rare for women in Islamic society in India and the Middle East, and female portraiture did not exist. Female figures in Persian miniatures are the heroines of poetic romance, not real women. The *Tarif* proves to be deeply unorthodox and highly significant, for the queen herself appears in six of its twelve illustrations! Five pages depict court life and one the ancient dohada theme: a tree bursting into flower at the touch of a beautiful and virtuous woman. In the five court scenes an indistinct form shares the sultan's throne: it is a woman in an orange



108 *Sultan Husain Nizam Shah enthroned* (Queen Khanzada Humayaun overpainted), folio from the *Tarif-i Husain Shahi*, Ahmadnagar, *c.* 1565

tie-died sari, the same figure as in the undamaged and exquisite dohada scene. Partly scratched away but still visible, perched on the sultan's knee like the consort of a Hindu god, it must be Khanzada Humayun (Fig. 108).

The portraits document her rise and fall, for, like the other two Muslim women who managed to rule India, Nur Jahan and Raziya Sultana, her fortunes ultimately suffered a terrible reversal. Painted into the manuscript in 1565, at the height of her influence, her figure must have been removed in 1569, when, after four years of rule as regent, she was imprisoned by her rebellious son, anxious to accede to his father's throne. We further assume that the vandal, not realising that the heroine of the dohada page was also the queen, as the king does not accompany her, left it undisturbed.

A drawing of Sultan Husain Nizam Shah viewing an elephant, clearly related to the *Tarif*, in the Salar Jang Museum, Hyderabad, and a remarkable painted and lacquered wooden box in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, are the only other works of art to have survived from Husain's reign (Fig. 109). The trees, rocks and flowers on the box are painted with the exuberance so noticeable in Deccani work, and the dashing hunting and hawking figures have the facial types, squarish 'handle-bar' moustaches and costumes of the *Tarif*.

This simple but vital style hardly prepares us for the next phase of Ahmadnagar painting with its noble and realistic figures, subtle psychological insight and astounding technical refinement. It is as if in one decade European painting made the leap from provincial daubings to the accomplishments of the Renaissance! Although we admit that much artistic production has certainly been lost, and with it the missing links between these two very different styles, it is undeniable that a sudden shift occurred immediately after the *Tarif*. The sultans of Ahmadnagar turned their backs on primitivism and began to patronise painters who were in the artistic vanguard of the Islamic world: painters who were aware not only of stylistic and technical developments at the Safavid and Mughal courts but of those in far-off Europe as well.

Two portraits of the sultan of Ahmadnagar, both inscribed Nizam Shah, painted in about 1575, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the other in the State Library, Rampur, encapsulate this new sophistication (see Colour Plate 2 and Fig. 110). Both are by the same anonymous hand whom we can call the Paris painter. In the first, the young king, with adolescent down on his cheeks but with a fully grown moustache, sits upon a gilded throne richly inlaid with mother-of-pearl. While he offers gold to a courtier on the left, a young page, wearing a childishly tied turban, runs up to the throne from the right to hand 'pan' to the king, the whole creating a tight psychological unity rarely achieved in more formal Mughal portraiture. In the Rampur picture the same king lounges on a canopied bed, gripping a cushion in the classical Indian pose of royal ease; the image – all sinuous curves – is a relaxed counterpoint to the official scene in Paris.

We are inclined to identify the two royal figures as Murtaza I on three counts.

109 *Royal figures hunting*, side of a lacquered wooden box, Ahmadnagar, *c.* 1565

First, his reign was the cultural zenith of the state, when the poets Zuhuri and Urfi emigrated from Iran to Ahmadnagar. Second, the king is very young, with his beard still not fully grown, an appropriate appearance for Murtaza in about 1575, the date we suggest for both works, when he was in his twenties, rather than for his brother Burhan who succeeded him in 1591 at the age of 35. Third, the style is close to very early Mughal paintings, especially to fol. 68b of the *Ashiqa* manuscript, dated 1568, where we see a similar scene, though mirror reversed, complete with an enthroned prince and a short courtier running towards him. Mughal art of the 1590s, which some see as the source for the mysterious Ahmadnagar style, had already passed into a different phase by that date.

A third painting by the Paris painter completes his known *œuvre* (Colour Plate

110 *Sultan Murtaza Nizam Shah relaxing*, attributed to the Paris painter, Ahmadnagar, *c.* 1575

111 *Running elephant*, Ahmadnagar, *c.* 1590–5

3). It presents an adolescent prince of 12 or 13, wearing the transparent white coat and the gilt metal purse of Central Asian origin tied round his waist, both typical of Deccani costume. The prince rides through a fantastic landscape of undulating golden plants, while that magical 'breeze' so typical of later Deccani paintings wafts through his garments and the horse's mane. In all three works the figures are tall and majestic, regally surrounded by abundant space. Their mood of noble gravitas upholds the humanism of the Indian figural tradition, especially apparent in Gupta sculpture of a thousand years before. Other details come from further afield. The singing lyrical line and sparkling surfaces – the gold sashes and turban are tooled to catch the light – are Persian refinements. Still other traits link this style to Europe. The effulgent gold background of the Paris and Rampur pages, stippled in black

around the human shapes, bears a striking resemblance to the conventions of gold-ground Sienese paintings of the fifteenth century which may have entered the Deccan through Portuguese Goa.

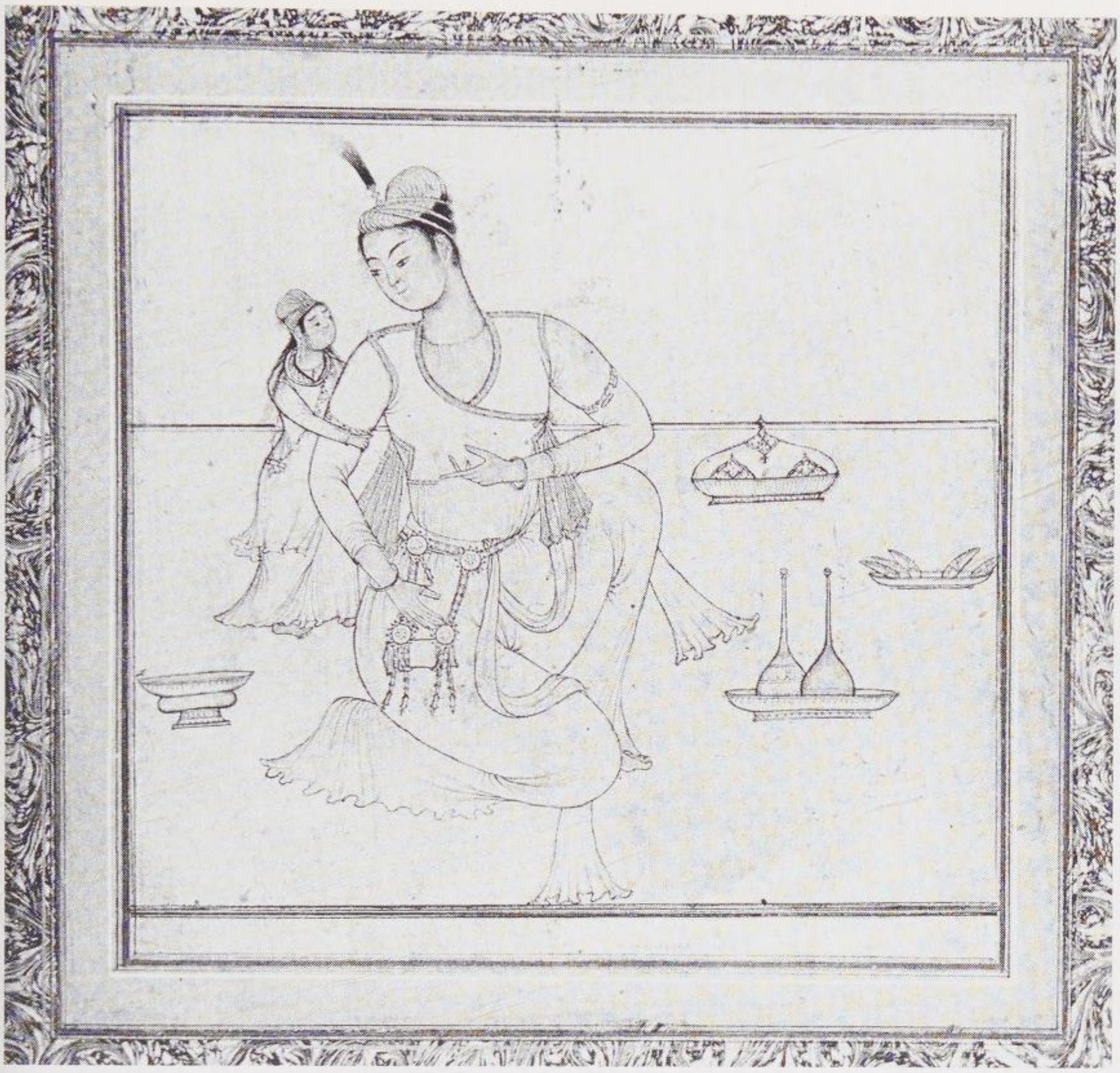
A small group of superb line drawings, with some colour, belong to a slightly later phase of Ahmadnagar art, possibly the reign of Murtaza's brother Burhan II. He had spent years of exile at the Mughal court, and it is not surprising that the style of these works reflects Mughal developments of about 1590. The *Running elephant*, in an American private collection (Fig. 111), has the dashing mood of many of Akbar's illustrated manuscripts where the speed of the emperor's actions are stressed, so unlike the majestically measured rhythms of the Paris painter. But even under Mughal influence there is a Deccani delight in the decorative potential of line and texture – the curling trunk, the mottled hide, the curvaceous tail – which dominates the image at the expense of those narrative values that so grip our attention in Mughal historical painting.

In this respect the *Royal picnic* in the India Office Library, London, bows even further to Mughal example (Fig. 112). Whereas the Paris painter presented symbols of monarchy, first governing, then relaxing from the stresses of governing, here we have an almost excessive recording of the details of a picnic laid out for the sultan, probably Burhan Nizam Shah himself. Although the technique is refined and the composition brilliantly unified, we can hardly deny that many of the details are but spiritless adaptations of the Paris painter's manner: the inlaid, but now preposterously ornate throne, the page handing the sultan 'pan', the feathery but now excessively curling sashes. We have seen them all before, rendered with considerably more vigour.

The *Royal picnic* is probably by the same hand as the *Running elephant*, as the facial types are identical and the dark knots in the stippled tree trunk next to the throne are just like the cavity of the elephant's ear, though lacking the latter's vivacity. We can only conclude that Ahmadnagar's rich artistic tradition was already showing signs of decay by the mid-1590s.

The most touching work of this late period is the *Young prince embraced by a small girl* in the Edwin Binney 3rd Collection in the San Diego Museum (Fig. 113). We sense that the Mughals are at the gates; a feast is laid, sumptuous platters and flasks are spread out upon the floor, but only a young prince and his even younger sister attend the banquet. She timidly grips his arm. He grandly beckons her forward, but he is only a puppet, composed of elegant calligraphic lines, a Deccani variation of the typical Persian beautiful youth. His face and his costume – elongated sash, loosely tied turban and a metal purse hanging from a gold belt round his waist – reveal his Ahmadnagar origins. We cannot be sure of the subject of this enigmatic work. After Burhan's death in 1595, there was a series of child kings whose reigns usually ended in murder, real power remaining in the hands of feuding regents. It may therefore portray one or the other of these unfortunate kings, pawns in the power struggle which preceded the Mughal conquest of 1600.

112 *Royal picnic*, Ahmadnagar, *c.* 1590–5

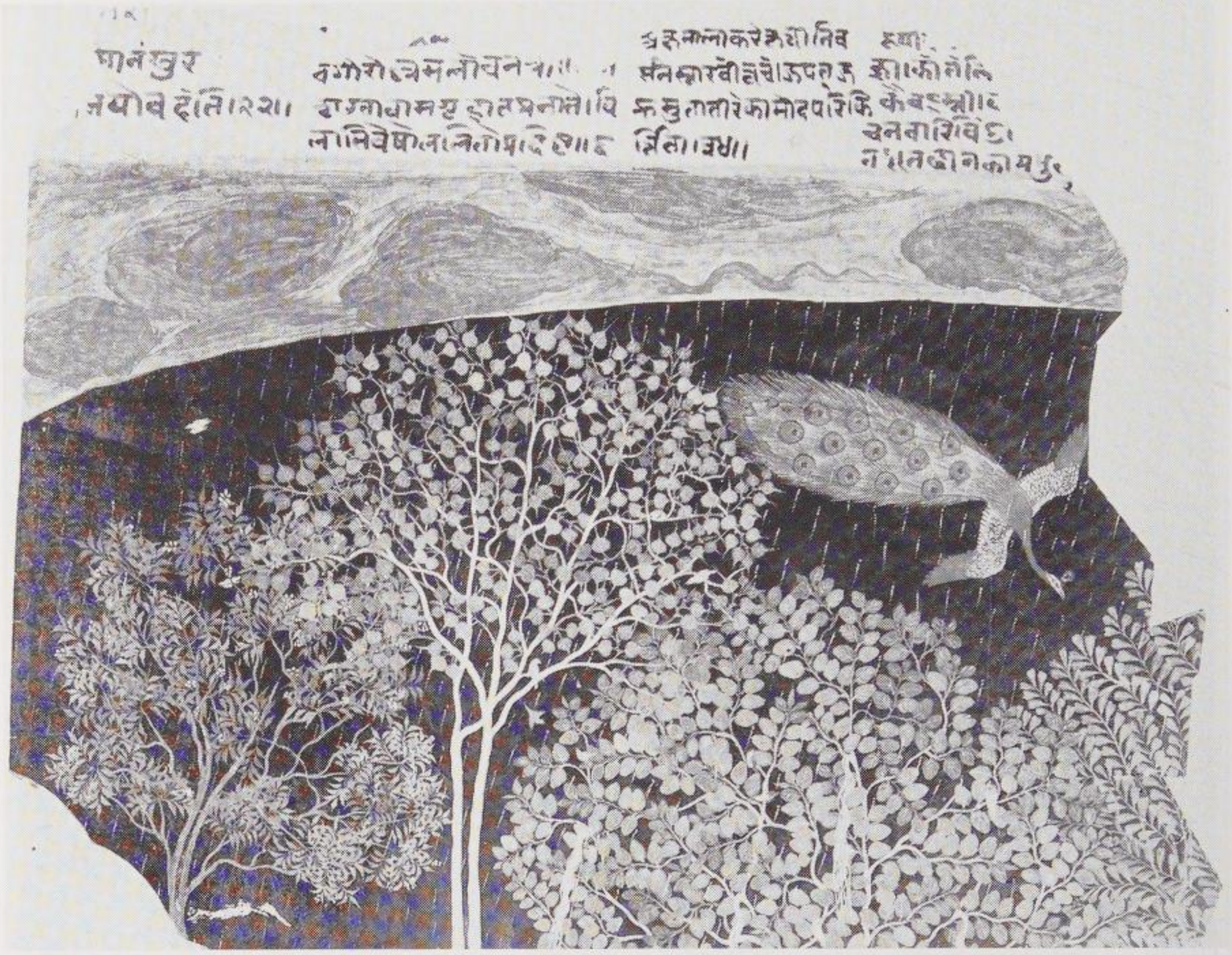


113 *Young prince embraced by a small girl*, Ahmadnagar, *c.* 1580–95

NORTHERN DECCAN

One of the obstacles to a fuller understanding of Deccani art involves the splendid group of late sixteenth-century ragamala paintings which, before 1983, were usually ascribed either to the court of Bijapur or, more frequently, to Ahmadnagar. Now that the court production of those two centres has come into clearer focus, we can safely refute such connections, but we are, nevertheless, at a loss to provide convincing alternatives.

It is not even possible to establish the exact number of surviving ragamala pictures, for published accounts do not agree. Excluding the group which may have been in the now dispersed Roerich Collection in Bangalore – unpublished and unseen by the author – there may be as many as fifteen or sixteen pages. At present, however, only nine can be definitely accounted for: *Peacock in a rainstorm at night* (Fig. 114), *Gauri ragini* (Fig. 115), *Hindola raga* (Fig. 116), *Sri raga, Patanasika*



114 *Peacock in a rainstorm at night*, northern Deccan, late sixteenth century

ragini, *Dhanasri ragini*, *Kamghodi ragini*, *Prince and ladies in a garden house* and *Malavi ragini*. As there are enormous differences in format and quality, these surviving pages must represent several different hands – some applying paint in a most sophisticated manner while others are folk-level artists trying to adapt to a new idiom – and they certainly represent more than one ragamala. It is important to stress here these variations in quality, for in our opinion previous accounts have not sufficiently done so. The first three examples described here are among the most beautiful Indian paintings from any period, whilst the other six are decidedly lesser works, and even at times surprisingly rough in execution.

The most dramatic is the fragmentary *Peacock in a rainstorm at night*, an extraordinary image, about two thirds of the original page, which uses black for its sombre setting (Fig. 114). The monsoon rains have begun. The male bird flies from tree to tree shrieking his mating call and startling tiny birds roosting in the luxuriant new foliage. As rain and peacocks invariably symbolise unrequited love in Indian painting and poetry, the missing portion probably contained a love-sick heroine whose lover has not come to their planned forest tryst.

Gauri ragini is undoubtedly by a different painter (Fig. 115). Giant trees grow in sturdy circular masses, filled with leaves in repeating patterns. The girls' tall,

115 *Gauri ragini*, northern Deccan, late sixteenth century

116 *Hindola raga*, northern Deccan, late sixteenth century

elongated bodies and simple profiles are repeated in *Hindola raga* (Fig. 116). Both works are probably by the same artist. His rich palette and monumental designs create an effect of glowing magnificence – like medieval European stained glass – quite different from the sinuous patterns of the *Peacock*.

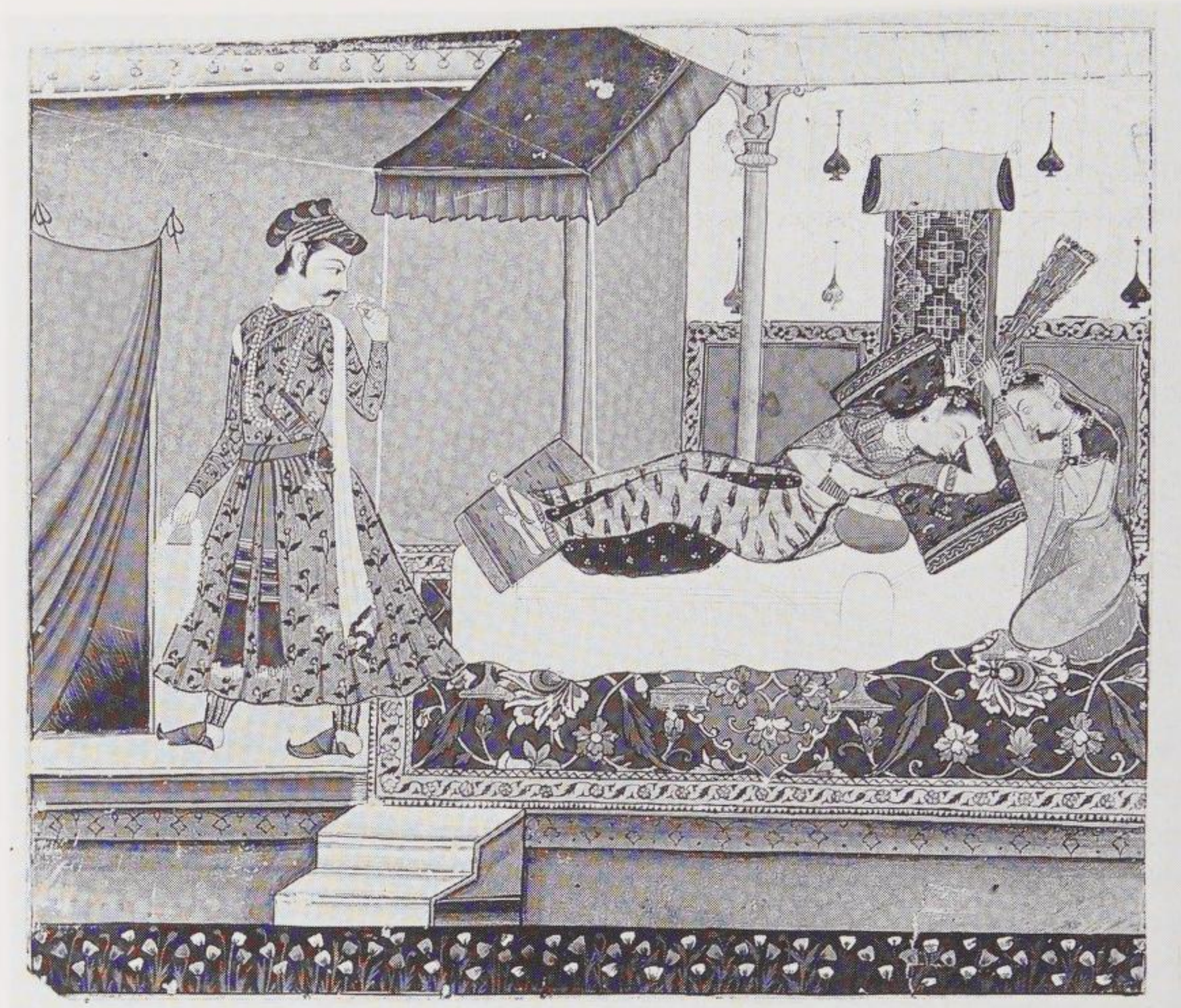
Despite their differences, all these pages have an earthy directness, quite unlike the courtly atmosphere of most other great Deccani masterpieces. Some scholars have assigned them to Ahmadnagar, but their naïve charm has nothing in common with the majestic humanism of that school's great tradition of portraiture. However the strong colours and simple figures of the *Tarif-i Husain Shahi*, previously noted, do bear some similarity.

Other scholars have suggested Bijapur as a provenance chiefly on the unconvincing basis of Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah's enthusiasm for music. Ibrahim actually wrote a book of Urdu songs, the *Kitab-i Nauras*, which contains numerous descriptions of ragas and raginis. However, the nine surviving ragamala paintings do not match any of Ibrahim's descriptions. Their inscriptions, in crude Sanskrit and Persian, cannot possibly reflect the high cultural level at Ibrahim's court where such major Iranian poets as Urfi and Zuhuri worked. Significantly, none of the paintings bears the slightest similarity to the style of portraiture known to have been painted at Bijapur.

At present, circumstantial evidence suggests a provenance but cannot prove it. The lyrical but uncomplicated style implies the work of a brilliant innovator working at a provincial centre far from the courtly atmosphere of the Ahmadnagar and Bijapur capitals. The Sanskrit inscriptions suggest a Hindu patron. Within the whole range of Deccani art they most resemble the illustrations of the *Tarif*, which in turn bear some similarity to the illustrated cookbook entitled the *Nimat Namah* executed at Mandu, for the Khalji sultan of Malwa in the early sixteenth century. Hindu influences from Rajasthan are strong. Many semi-independent Hindu rajas lived in the northern Deccan, not far from Rajasthan and Central India, feudatories of the Muslim sultans of Ahmadnagar, Khandesh and Berar. We believe that one of these princes was the most likely patron of the ragamala paintings.

A related style of painting – usually with Hindu subject matter and ever-increasing Mughal influence – continued throughout the seventeenth century in northern Deccani centres. Some of the patrons were doubtless local Hindu rajas; others were Rajasthani noblemen who served as officers in the Mughal army, for the fort of Ahmadnagar and most of the northern Deccan fell under Mughal control in 1600. After that date the capital of the Mughal Deccan was shifted permanently to Aurangabad.

Aurangabad became the centre of a hybrid Rajasthani-Deccani school of painting. A now dispersed ragamala found at Ghanerao, an outpost of the Jodhpur kingdom in Rajasthan, and a *Gita Govinda* painted in an identical manner are the main examples of this style (Fig. 117). Both sets were thought to have been executed in Rajasthan until the discovery of an illustrated *Rasamanjari*, in a rougher version of the same style, containing a colophon giving the invaluable information that it was painted at Aurangabad in 1650 for a Mewari (and therefore Rajasthani) patron. The style is essentially Rajasthani but uses a cool Deccani palette of blue, pink and mauve that differs substantially from the warm colours typical of Rajasthani taste.

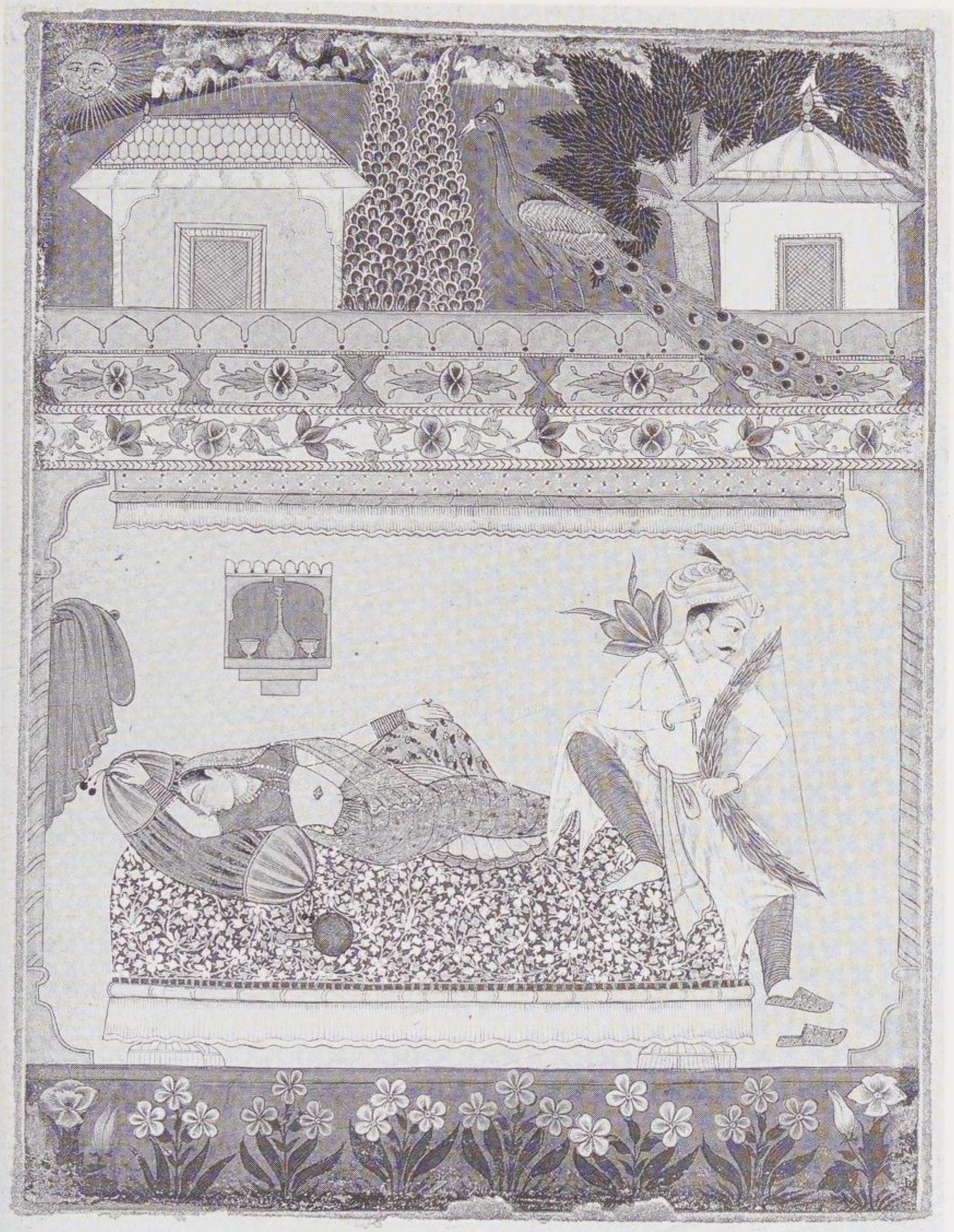


117 *Lalita ragini*, northern Deccan, *c.* 1650

We therefore assume that the painters were Rajasthanis who, after having been taken south by their patrons, began of necessity to use locally available pigments. *Vibhasa raga*, a painting from a related ragamala, combines Rajasthani earthiness with the charm and lyricism of the Deccan (Fig. 118).

At Burhanpur, as well, a school of painting may have developed in the mid-seventeenth century which brought together extravagant Deccani shapes with large areas of unmodelled colour typical of Malwa. A single ragamala set, now dispersed, is the sole surviving example of this hybrid style; one page painted in strange tones of black, pink, grey, blue and orange is in the Musée Guimet, Paris. Though the overall format resembles that of so many Malwa ragamala illustrations, the emphatic shapes of flowers and creepers – and even the heroine's profile – relate to Deccani traditions.

Five folios of a ragamala set, formerly in the Khajanchi Collection, Bikaner, were painted in the northern Deccan in the second half of the seventeenth century under Mewari pictorial influence. They are now divided between the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, and the National Museum, New Delhi. Two other pages from the set are



118 *Vibhasa raga*, northern Deccan, *c.* 1675

in the Kronos Collection, New York. *Gambhir raga*, a surrealistic image of a musical youth riding a giant fish in a lotus pond, of exactly the same dimensions, may be the eighth known page of this ragamala, though the hand responsible for it is considerably more fluid (Fig. 119).

119 *Gambhir raga*, northern Deccan, second half of seventeenth century

BIJAPUR: REIGN OF ALI I

Compared to the brilliant but deplorably scanty remains of painting from Ahmadnagar and the northern Deccan, we enjoy a surprising abundance from Bijapur. Although this body of material is still infinitely smaller than what survives of Mughal and Rajasthani art, it is just enough to reveal the presence of several extraordinary hands. Each of these painters, whilst working within the general confines of the school, managed to project a strongly personal vision.

These remarkable developments belong almost entirely to the reigns of Ibrahim Adil Shah II and to a lesser degree to the reigns of his successors during the mid to late seventeenth century; before the last two decades of the sixteenth century Bijapuri painting was a decidedly modest affair. In fact absolutely no painting can be ascribed to Bijapur before the reign of Sultan Ali Adil Shah I. This ruler was certainly a man of culture and patron of the arts, for Rafi uddin Shirazi, an émigré Iranian and author of the *Tazkira al-Mulk*, a history of the Bijapur kingdom up to 1612, says that Ali I 'had a great inclination towards the study of books and he had procured many books connected with every kind of knowledge, so that a coloured library had become full. Nearly sixty men, calligraphers, gilders of books, book binders and illuminators were busy doing their work the whole day in the library' (Joshi 1955:97).

The references to a 'coloured' library and 'illuminators' (could they be painters or simply decorators?) are vague and do not give any precise information. Nevertheless, we can with assurance attribute a certain number of paintings to Ali's patronage. The most significant are in the manuscript entitled the *Nujum al Ulum*, or *Stars of Science*, in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Fig. 120, see also Fig. 173). This book touches on various subjects, chiefly connected to astrology and magic. The number of miniatures totals 400, or approximately 780 if zodiacal signs are included. Some occupy a full page while others are mere marginal decorations. The subjects of the illustrations vary enormously: angels, the signs of the zodiac, talismans, sorcerers, the invocation of spirits, constellations, the celestial levels, processions, demonesses, animals and weaponry. The manuscript is one of the few dated landmarks of Deccani painting. A date equivalent to 1570–1 appears twice in the text and also in a simplified colophon on the last page. A note by a former owner within the text stating that the book once belonged to Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II, calling him by his self-bestowed title of jagat guru, or world teacher, suggests but does not prove a Bijapur provenance.

In general the style of the illustrations is close to that of the *Tarif-i Husain Shahi* from nearby Ahmadnagar. Female figures, especially, conform to South Indian ideals of beauty with tall majestic bodies, massive gold jewellery and belts (worn over saris) and enormously elongated eyes. It is in the male figures that we see the first inkling of Mughal influence on Deccani art: costumes, turbans, postures, as well as the convincing suggestion of mass and vigorous movement,

120 *Mother and child*, page from the *Nujum al Ulum*, Bijapur, dated 1570–1

owe an enormous debt to the pictorial innovations of the early Akbari school.

Only two other illustrated books can be attributed to Ali's reign. One on music and dance, entitled the *Javahir al Musiqat-i Muhammadi*, is in the British Library. It contains forty-eight paintings in a crude version of the *Nujum* style and a perplexing dedicatory note on fol. 4a to Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah. This note must have been written later than the illustrations, considering the latter's thoroughly sixteenth-century style. The second work, also on a musical theme, is a Marathi commentary on Sarangadeva's *Sangita-Ratnakara* in the City Palace Museum, Jaipur. It contains four miniatures closely related to both the *Nujum* and the *Javahir* style, but more energetic and closer to a Deccani folk idiom, with little Islamic flavour. One painting, executed in a rapid sketchy manner, perfectly captures the excited rhythms of the Indian dance.

BIJAPUR: REIGN OF IBRAHIM II

Contemplating the rich bounty of nearly seventy miniatures which have come down to us from late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Bijapur is like throwing a window wide open upon an enchanted world. No doubt Ahmadnagar and northern Deccani pictures are equally magical, but merely a fraction of the original

production of those two kingdoms has survived the vicissitudes of history. From Bijapur, brooding landscapes and idealised forms intrigue us in abundance, no less through expressive line and colour than by the noble, introspective expressions of the human figures depicted.

The mystical temperament of Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II, the patron of the greatest of these works, gave a strong imprint to the production of the school. In certain ways, he reminds us of his older contemporary, the Mughal emperor Akbar. Just as Akbar transformed Mughal art, Ibrahim elevated Bijapur painting to a level of expressive power and technical refinement that rivalled the greatest Mughal and Safavid works, but with an atmosphere of mystery that had no place in the classic phases of the other schools. Ibrahim was a dreamer, with an almost morbid sensitivity to art and music. He was the product of a hybrid civilisation. It is hard to label him either a Muslim or a Hindu; rather he had an aesthete's admiration for the beauty of both cultures. Hinduism fascinated him and, as already noted, he adopted the title of jagat guru, possibly emulating Akbar who founded a syncretic religion and placed himself at the head of it. Ibrahim wears a necklace of rudraksha beads, the dried berries worn by Hindu sages, in most of his portraits.

Unlike Akbar, however, Ibrahim was not politically aggressive. His own writings, and those of his courtiers, touch on artistic or mystical subjects, never on conquest or everyday affairs of state – the meat of Mughal historiography – so that we know much less about the Deccan than about the Mughal empire. The pensive and sometimes melancholy paintings he commissioned must have struck a responsive chord in this curious man's soul. Less realistic than Mughal miniatures and laden with strong feelings, they suggest that emotion was everything for Ibrahim Adil Shah.

A few Deccani accounts shed light on Ibrahim's role as patron of the arts and the atmosphere at his court. The most revealing is the *Seh Nathr* (*The Three Essays*) by Zuhuri, the Persian poet laureate, and the *Kitab-i Nauras*, a collection of songs written by the sultan himself in Deccani Urdu. The *Seh Nathr* is a trilogy composed of the *Nauras* (the Persian preface to the sultan's Urdu work of the same name), the *Gulzar-i Ibrahim* (*The Rose Garden of Abraham*) and the *Khan-i Khalil* (*The Table of the Friend of God*). The first two essays praise the sultan and his talents while the third celebrates the members of his court.

Zuhuri describes Ibrahim as an outstanding musician, painter and calligrapher and an energetic patron of the arts, keen to attract artists from the entire world: 'No thorn in the path of Art ever pierced a man's foot but he picked up gardens of flowers . . . from [Ibrahim's] favour . . . [and] . . . had Egypts of sugar cast into his throat by the . . . [royal] . . . munificence' (Ghani 1930:465).

Zuhuri explains the mysterious word nauras, which cast a spell upon Ibrahim that lasted throughout his life, as a mixture of the 'nine juices', or emotional essences of Indian aesthetic theory. He points out that although Ibrahim is a virtual slave to all the arts, music is by far his first love. Zuhuri lists among Ibrahim's six

courtiers, all outstanding men in their fields, the painter Farrukh Husain. Though nothing specific is divulged about Farrukh Husain's style the description is glowing:

> The fourth [courtier] is Maulana Farrukh Husain: than whose painting nothing better can be imagined. The expert painters take pride in being his pupils, and having adopted the outline of his plain sketch as their model put their lives under obligation. From the sight of his black pen the green haired [the beautiful] have learnt wiles. The freshness of his painting has put the portrait of the beautiful to shame, and has thrown it into the whirlpool of . . . jealousy . . . That magical painter has put in motion the breeze which throws aside the veil from the face of the beautiful. (Ghani 1930:462–3)

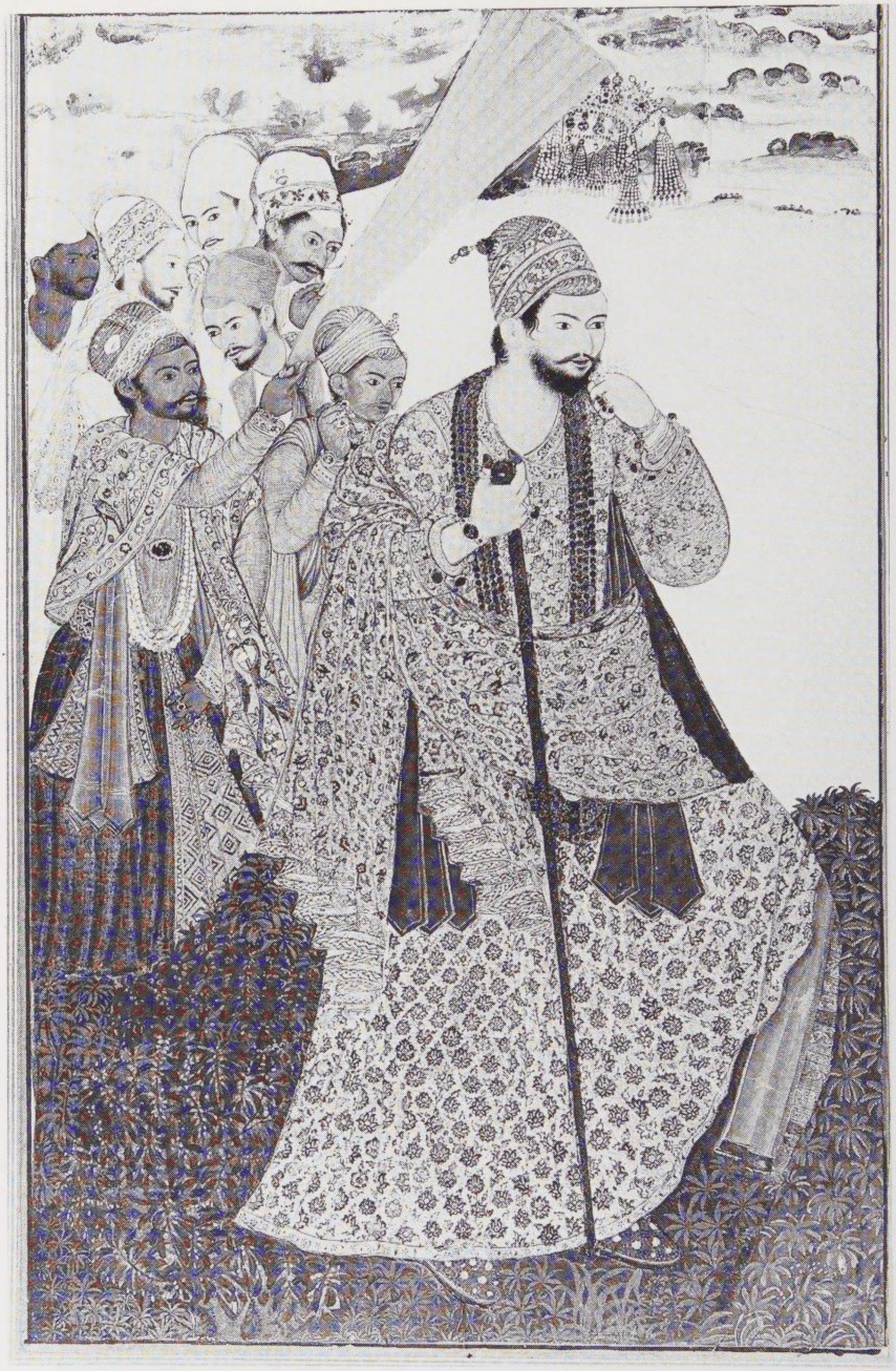
A certain amount of information can be gleaned from this passage. It is probable that Farrukh Husain was the master painter of the royal atelier at Bijapur and that he influenced the style of lesser artists working there. Moreover, he may have drawn outlines to which his followers applied colour, just as in the Mughal workshops the great masters drew outlines of figures and other painters coloured them in. Lastly, the very mention of a painter's name amongst the sultan's favourites proves the high status of some artists in Muslim India at this time, contrary to their relatively low position in later centuries. Such high rank certainly continued under Ibrahim's successor Muhammad from whose reign a remarkable darbar scene has survived, celebrating the award of a special honour to one of the sultan's painters (see Fig. 131).

Ibrahim's own writings, gathered together under the title *Kitab-i Nauras*, offer us a glimpse of his unique personality and the religiously relaxed tenor of his court. In highly Sanskritised language he sings of his regard for Hindu deities, the ragamala, the pangs of separation when he has to leave, even for a moment, his favourite elephant Atash Khan and his tambur, or stringed instrument, Moti Khan. He showers equal praise upon Sarasvati, Hindu goddess of learning, the Prophet Muhammad and the Deccani Muslim saint Gesudaraz buried at Gulbarga. Perhaps the most astounding passage occurs in the 56th song where he describes himself as a Hindu god:

> In one hand he . . . [holds] a musical instrument, in the other, a book which he reads and sings songs related to the Nauras. He is robed in saffron-coloured dress, his teeth are black, the nails are red . . . and he loves all. Ibrahim, whose father is god Ganesh and . . . mother pious Sarasvati, has a rosary of crystal round his neck, a city like Vidyapur [Bijapur] and an elephant as his vehicle. (Ahmad 1956:146)

Such songs almost certainly formed the subject matter of Bijapur painting. The portrait in the Naprstek Museum, Prague, for example, corresponds to this self-description, for Ibrahim is depicted holding his tambur Moti Khan, with a rosary round his neck, nails lacquered red and two elephants and a tiny cityscape – probably Bijapur itself – in the background (see Fig. 125). He appears in similar guise in nearly all other surviving portraits.

121 *Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II*, attributed to the Bikaner painter, Bijapur, 1590



122 *Procession of Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II*, attributed to the Bikaner painter, Bijapur, 1595

Despite Zuhuri's praise, Firishta's historical chronicles and the sultan's own songs, Ibrahim remains a mysterious figure – like his paintings. The precise accounts of the Mughal court do not exist for the Deccan, whose history remains the realm of fantasy and conjecture. And whereas Mughal painting clearly illuminates the Mughal world through realistically observed detail, Deccani art presents us with an exotic civilisation seen through the charmed mirror of poetry.

The earliest painting of the reign is of a plump, rosy-cheeked youth wearing a conical turban and a splendid emerald necklace (Fig. 121). The elegant nastaliq inscription on the turban confirms that he is Ibrahim. Zuhuri repeatedly connected Ibrahim with the prophet Ibrahim, known as khalil, the 'friend' of God, and in fact entitled his third essay about Ibrahim's court the *Khan-i Khalil*. It is not surprising then that the inscription reads: 'He is Khalil. The oyster shell of the heavens contains nothing like thee. Faridun and Jan have no son like thee.'

The sultan's sprouting facial hair – his moustache but not his beard is nearly fully grown – suggests an age of at least 16, or even older. The painting probably dates from 1590 when the king defeated his regent and assumed real power at the age of 19.

The same artist, whom we can dub the Bikaner painter, was responsible for the portrait of Ibrahim walking with his courtiers, in the Bikaner Palace Collection (Fig. 122). With the opulence typical of Deccani taste, the figures are loaded with sumptuous scarves, robes and jewellery. The inscription on the verso in Rajasthani Hindi, added a century after the execution of the portrait, identifies the king as Ibrahim. It states that this picture – like many other paintings and objects in the same collection - was taken from the Deccani fort of Adoni by the Mughal besieger, Maharaja Anup Singh of Bikaner, and then checked into his collection in 1691. As in the previous work, Ibrahim wears his tall, conical turban, his face is heavily shaded and the palette includes vivid blue, red, orange and abundant gold. The chief difference here is Ibrahim's youthful infatuation with Hinduism. He now sports a luxuriant beard, hair tumbles out from behind his turban, and his necklace, though still of the same design, is no longer of emeralds but of rudraksha berries. In the earlier work he is still the pampered adolescent, while here he is a mystically inclined young man, long haired and indifferent to jewellery. From now on all his portraits depict him wearing this rosary of berries round his neck, just as he describes himself in the 56th song of the *Kitab-i Nauras* already referred to.

By the early seventeenth century two broad stylistic strands had emerged within the Bijapur school. Some artists, keenly sensitive to Iranian taste, used the Islamic arabesque and the paradise garden setting to a lyrical effect rarely surpassed in the Middle East. Others, like the Bikaner painter, earthier and more Indian, chose instead the idealised human form as their means of expression. The culmination of this latter strand is the work of a brilliant artist whom we can call the Bodleian painter, after his *Sufi receiving a visitor* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (see

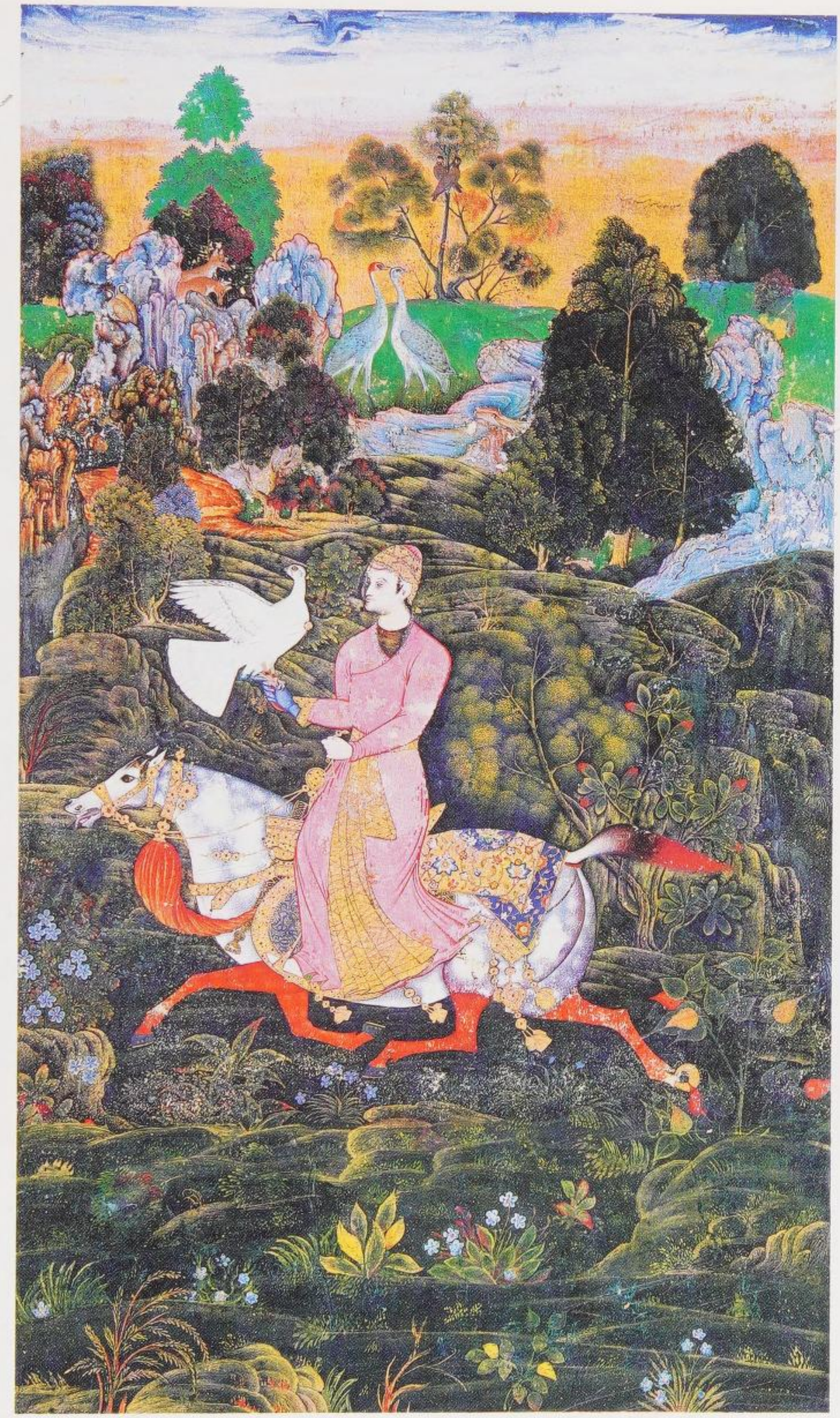
Frontispiece). His achievements may be termed deeply humanistic in the sense that, as in many of the greatest works of European art, interest in the human condition is central to his vision. The dignified calm of his figures forms part of the classic phase of Deccani art.

The Bodleian composition stuns us with its mood of total peace, surely a reference to the saint's great piety. Sombre tonalities suggest the mysteries of the spiritual world. The sufi, with long hair and nails, receives the silent attention of a devotee while a pet white parrot perches in a tree. Nearby, four gilt alams inject a Shia connection. The bearded visitor, with a prominently hooked nose, wearing the white cloak of a penitent, humbly awaiting the saint's blessing, strongly resembles portraits of Ibrahim Adil Shah. This picture may commemorate the important event of this sultan's visit to a powerful dervish at a critical moment in his reign.

The Bodleian painter was equally at home within the palaces of power. His *Stout courtier* in the British Museum, London, examines a veteran of politics (see Colour Plate 6). Clothed in the finest muslin robes and a Kashmiri shawl, he is undoubtedly a man of action: proud, resolute and accustomed to giving orders, to judge by his face and stance. As in the Bodleian picture, there is an atmosphere of majestic stillness, as if our courtier is meditating upon some newly discovered truth. His hands are folded like those of the white-garbed penitent, the same plants line the bottom of the picture space, and a characteristic zone of shadow around the contours of each form gives the illusion of space and roundness. We discern the growing influence of Mughal portraiture which similarly isolates subjects against a void, but while Mughal portraits are often stiff, here textiles and plants sway with exotic rhythms.

The theological side of Bijapur court life is represented by the *Mullah* in the India Office Library, London, also attributable to the Bodleian artist (Fig. 123). As a member of the ulama, or interpreters of divine law, this figure was part of the orthodox Muslim establishment, opposed to the wild sufi we saw living in the jungle. The formal perfection of this scene has the qualities of a Chardin still life: shawl, beard, finger-ring, cane, irises and partridges balance each other in flawless harmony which gives this figure a tremendous, though lonely, dignity.

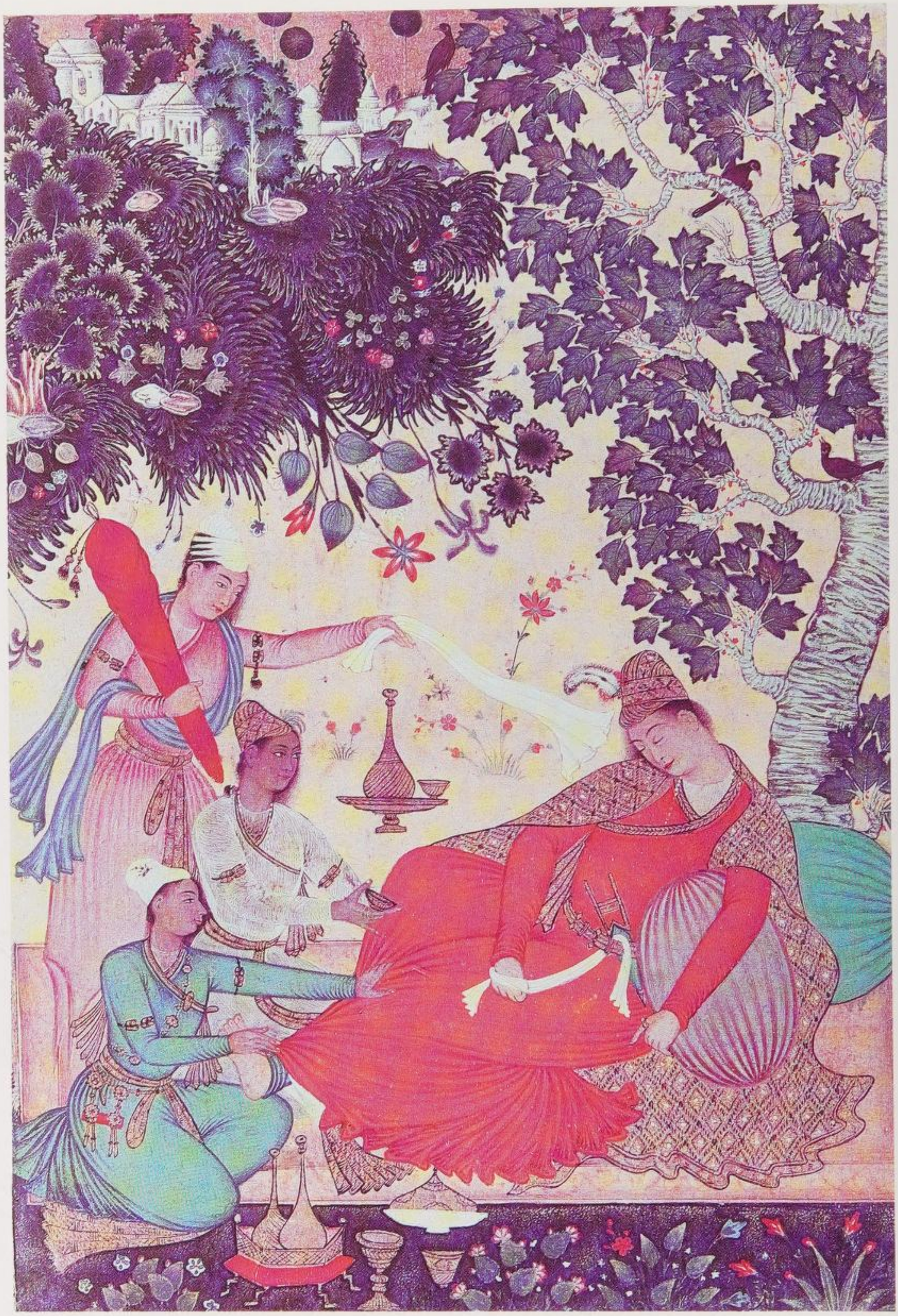
The same artist's portrait of Ibrahim in the British Museum shows considerably less interest in exploring the subject's mood (see Fig. 2). Instead he aims to produce an effect of lyrical and seductive perfection. Ibrahim is like a puppet, but how beautiful are his raiments and how enchanting is his garden! His fingers are long and elegant, his eyes are almond-shaped and his feet are minuscule and encased in golden slippers. Although the work is uninscribed, the subject can hardly be anyone other than Ibrahim. The full beard, conical turban and necklace of rudraksha berries establish his identity, while the castanets in his left hand refer to his passion for music. Here, as in the other paintings, diaphanous robes sway, as if caught in a breeze, and the sultan extends the small finger of his left hand in the same gesture as the mullah holding the Koran.



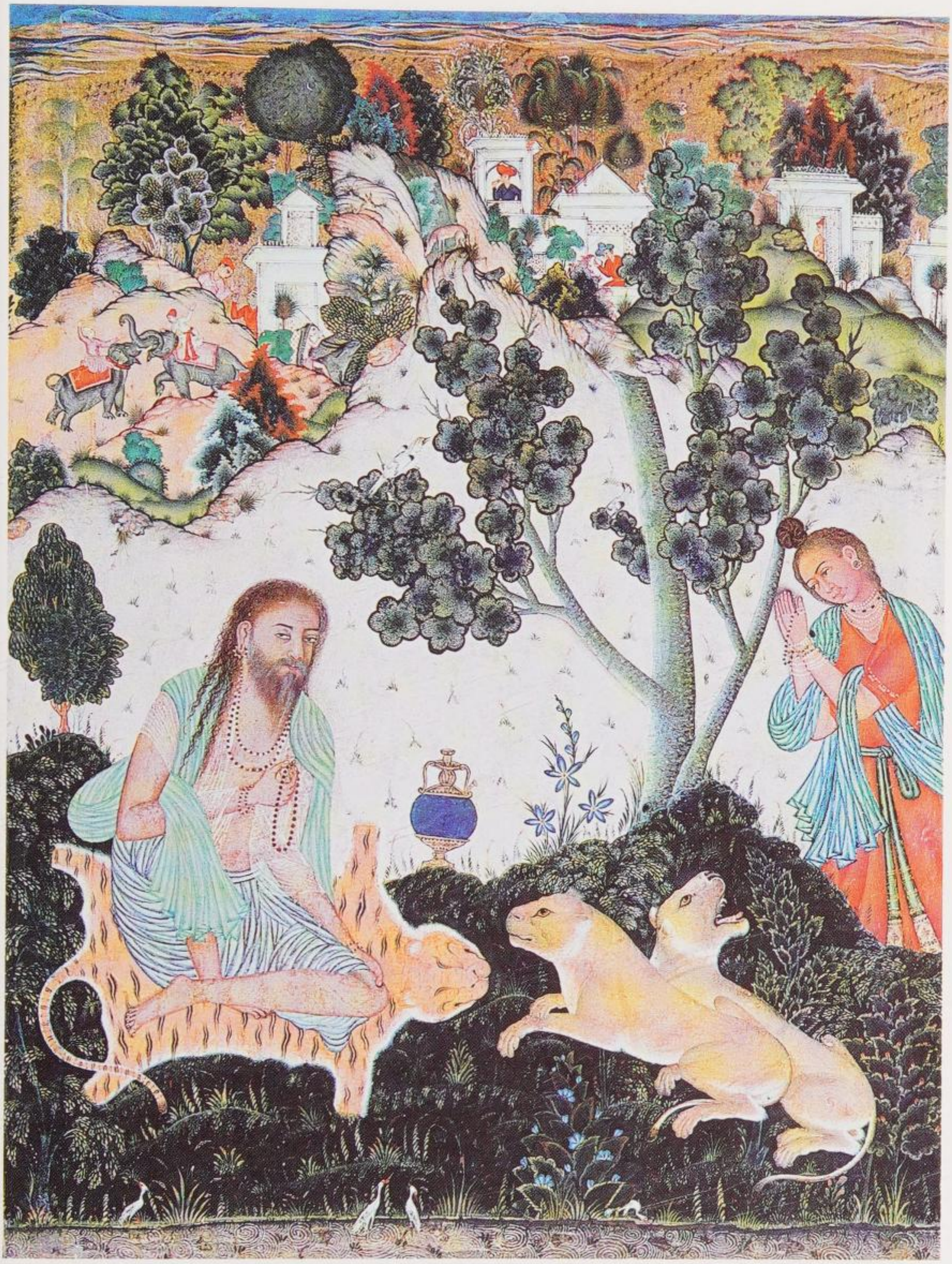
1 *Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II hawking*, Bijapur, *c.* 1590

2 *Sultan Murtaza Nizam Shah enthroned*, attributed to the Paris painter, Ahmadnagar, *c.* 1575

3 *Young prince riding*, attributed to the Paris painter, Ahmadnagar, *c.* 1575

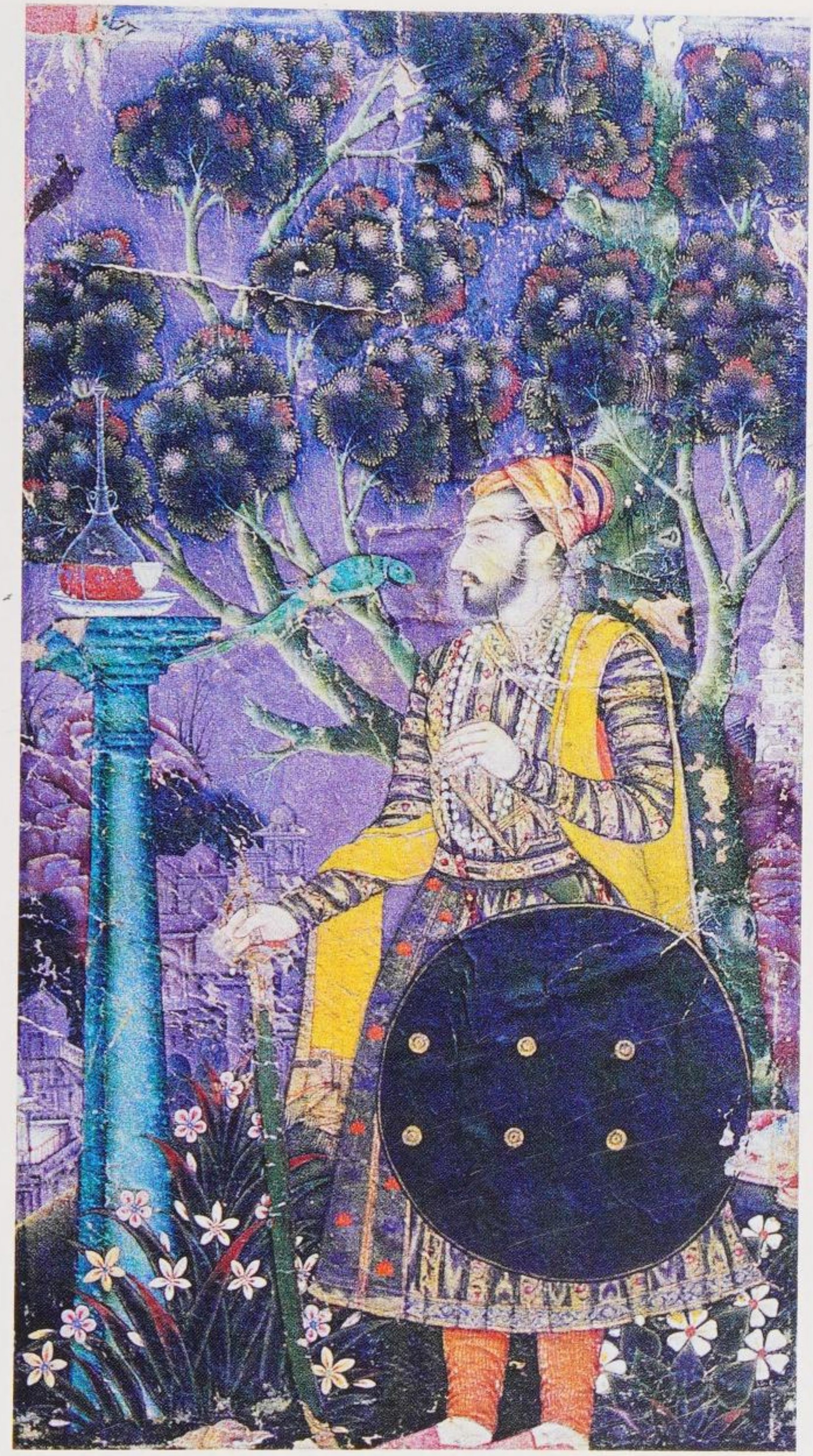


4 *Siesta*, attributed to the Dublin painter, Bijapur, early seventeenth century

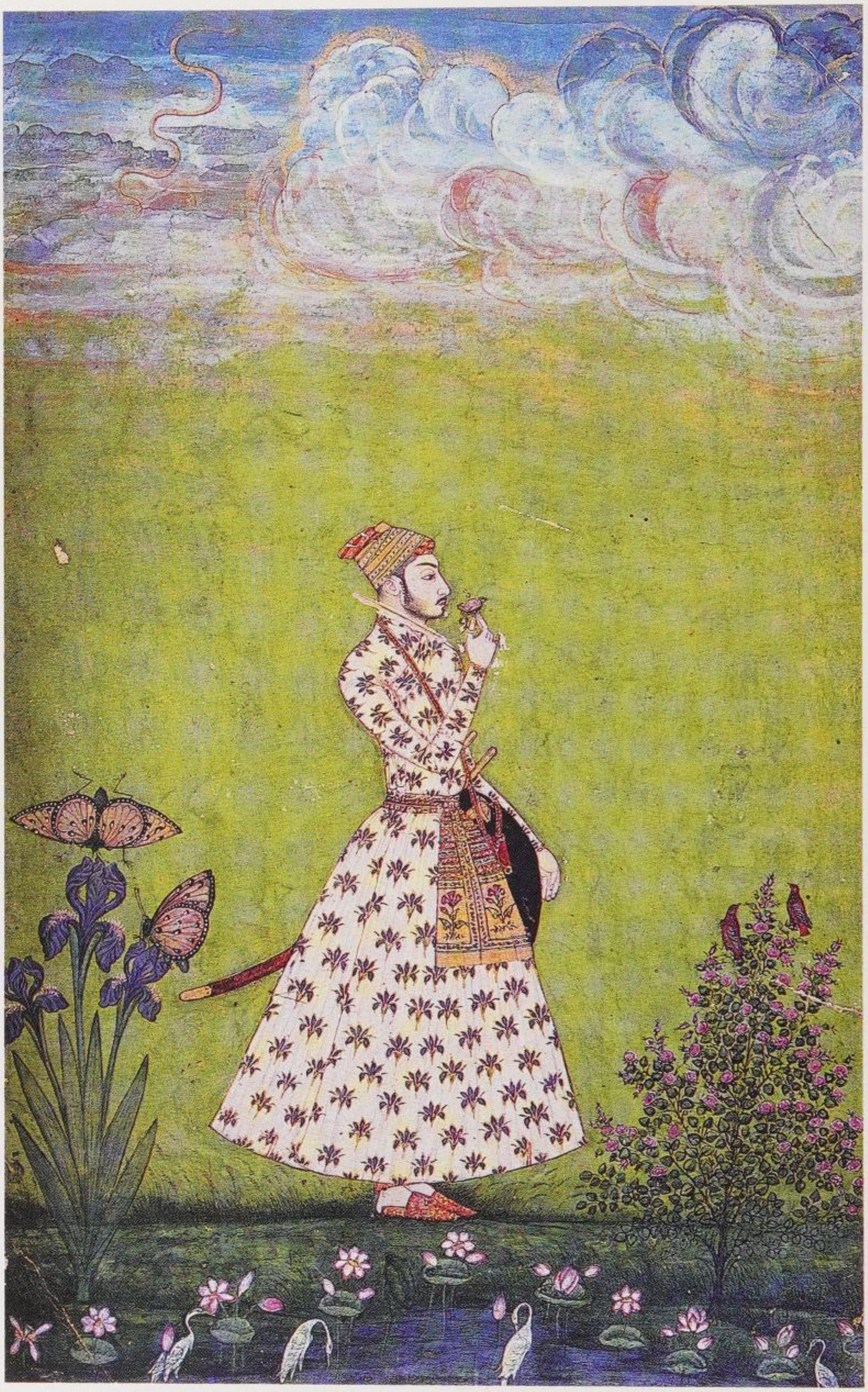


5 *Ascetic visited by a yogini*, attributed to the Dublin painter, Bijapur, early seventeenth century

6 *Stout courtier*, detail, attributed to the Bodleian painter, Bijapur, *c.* 1610–20



7 *Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah*, attributed to the Bodleian painter working with a Mughal painter, Bijapur, *c.* 1635

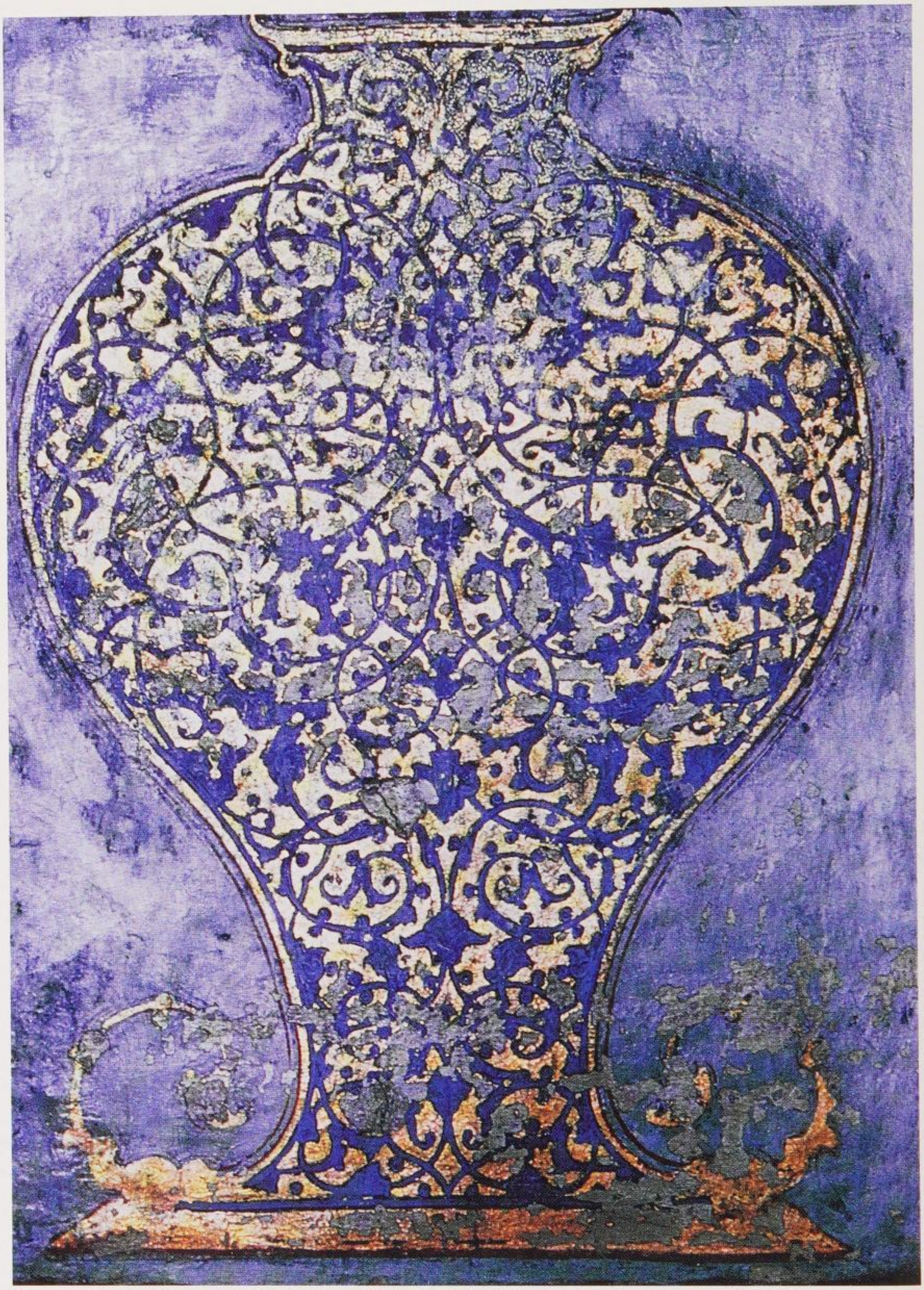


8 *Prince sniffing a rose*, Deccan, early eighteenth century

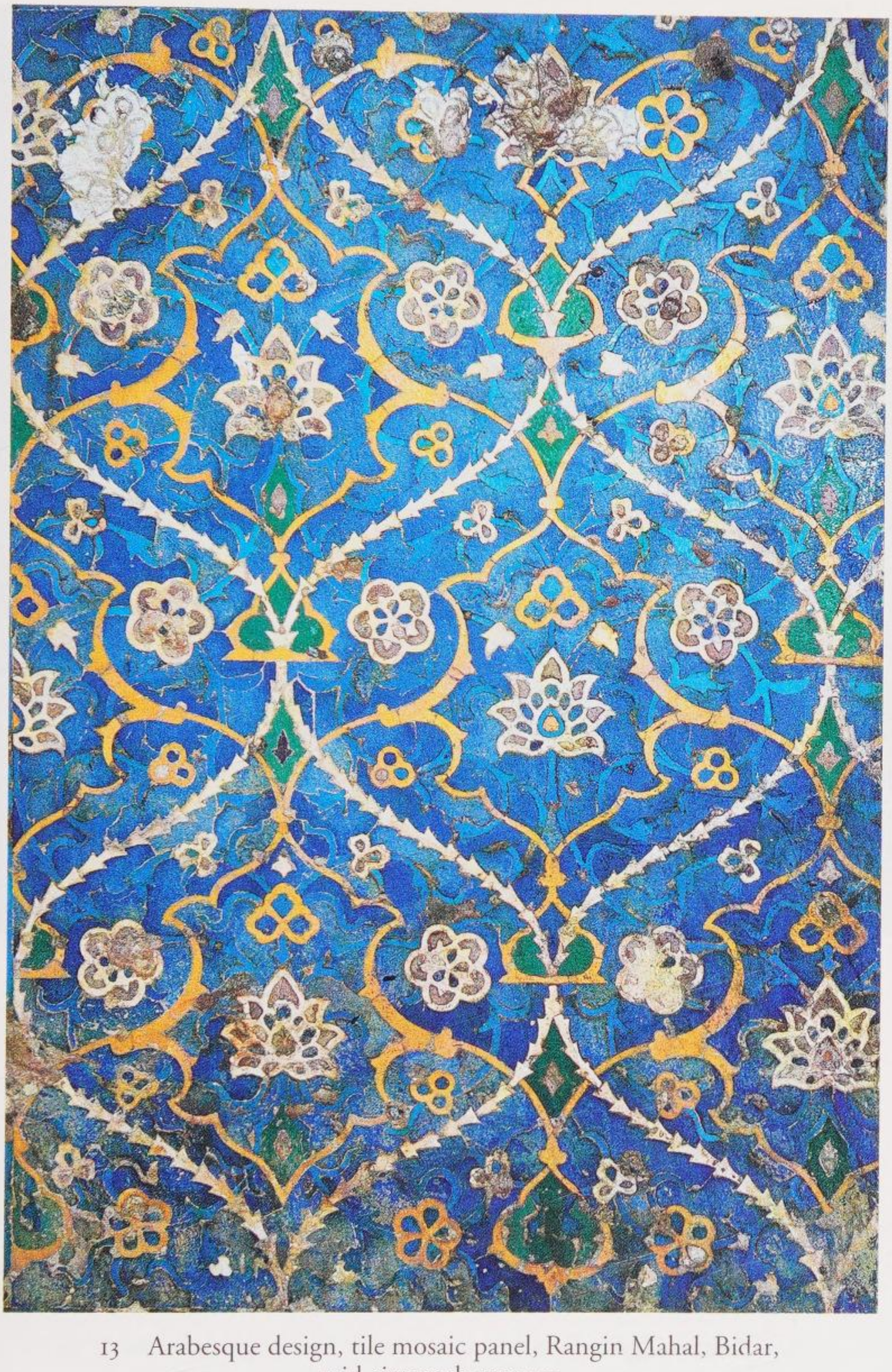
9 *Prince galloping across a rocky plain*, Deccan, *c.* 1700

10 Maiden with parrot, detail of a fragment of a painted cloth, Golconda, first half of seventeenth century

11 Painted cloth, single-niche hanging (qanat), Deccan,
mid-seventeenth century



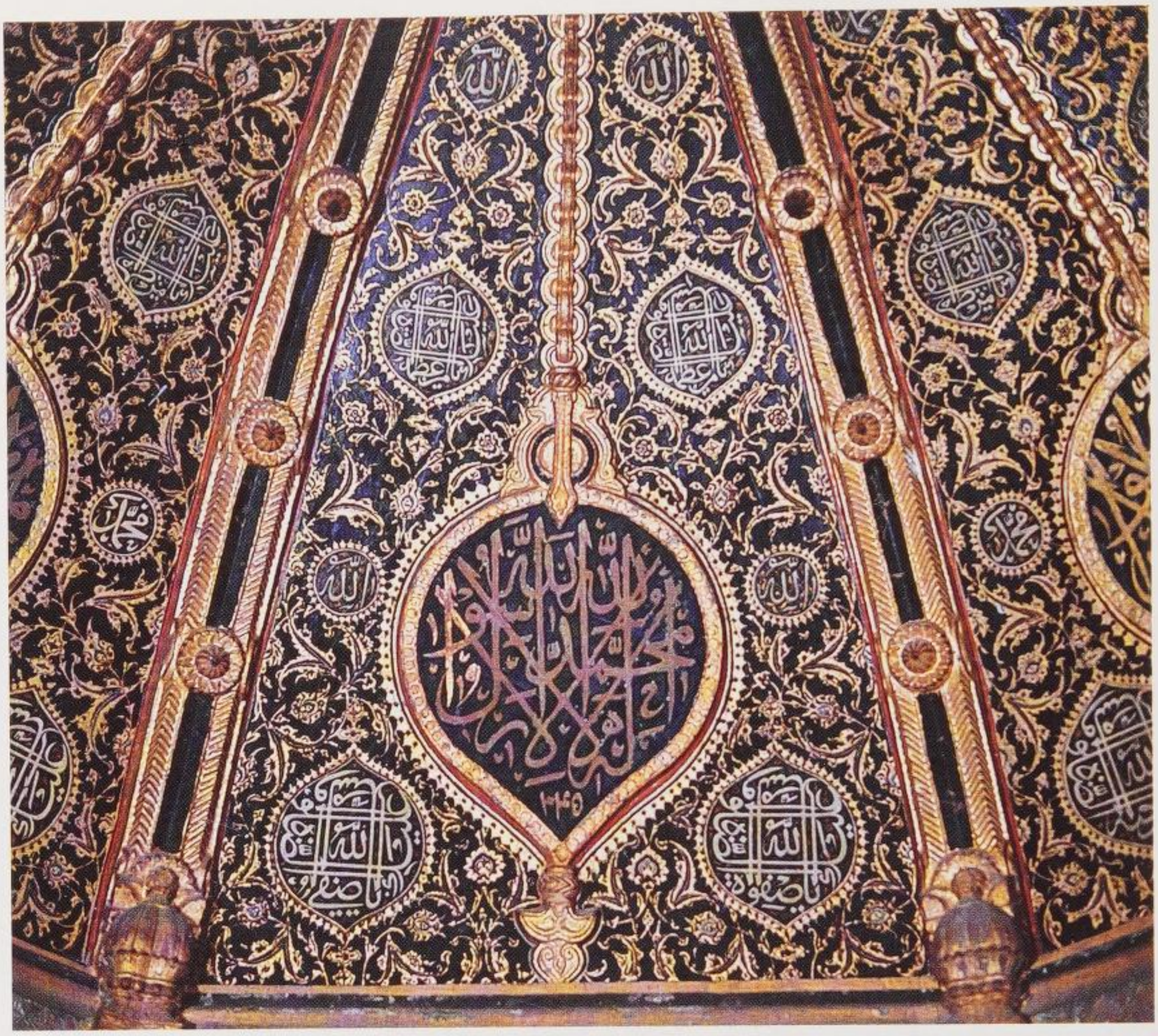
12 Vase with arabesque, painted plasterwork, Asar Mahal, Bijapur, seventeenth century



13 Arabesque design, tile mosaic panel, Rangin Mahal, Bidar, mid-sixteenth century

14 Calligraphic alam, detail of tile mosaic panel, Badshahi Ashurkhana, Hyderabad, 1611

15 Vase of plenty, detail of tile mosaic panel, Badshahi Ashurkhana



16 Calligraphic medallion on chain, painted gesso on stone,mihrab, Jami mosque, Bijapur, 1636

123 *Mullah*, attributed to the Bodleian painter, Bijapur, *c.* 1610

The *Fighting cranes* in the Musée Guimet, Paris, is the only surviving animal study by this painter of portraits (Fig. 124). The jewel-like flowers against the mysterious dark green background, the wind-bowed reeds and the thick white paint of the cranes' bodies, now flaking, are characteristic of his work. All the paintings which can be attributed to this gifted artist, including the *Fighting cranes*, but with the exception of the Bodleian picture, are approximately the same size, averaging 17 by 10 centimetres. Originally they may have formed part of a splendid Bijapur album which included portraits of the major figures at court.

One of the greatest images in Indian or Islamic art is *Ibrahim Adil Shah II hawking* mounted in the St Petersburg album in the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg (see Colour Plate 1). The sultan majestically rides his hennaed horse through a magical meadow of swaying trees and star-like flowers. Paint is applied to the surface in 'pointilliste' dabs. Rocks swarm with bizarre faces and animal shapes. An elegant nastaliq inscription just above the large tree on the upper right identifies the subject as a 'portrait of the emperor Ibrahim Adil Shah'. A date of 1590 is likely, as the king has not yet grown a beard.

The St Petersburg artist rivalled the Bodleian painter in power, but worked in a more Islamic style with a fondness for arabesque ornament, calligraphic line and

124 *Fighting cranes*, attributed to the Bodleian painter, Bijapur, *c.* 1610–20

paradise garden settings. His faces, as in Iranian art, show little emotion or individuality, but his ability to create an atmosphere of unparalleled rapture and fantasy more than compensates.

He may be Farrukh Husain. An inscription above the horizon on the right edge of the picture space, almost cut off by remounting, gives the name of the artist responsible as Farrukh Beg, a well-known Mughal artist who worked for Akbar and Jahangir. Now it is quite possible that Farrukh Beg and Farrukh Husain are one and the same artist. However, it is also likely that this inscription was written at the Mughal court after the painting had left the Deccan prior to its departure for Iran – where it was incorporated in the eighteenth century into the album in which it is still located – for it was not the custom for Deccani paintings to bear signatures or written attributions to artists. As an inscription added to a painting far in time and place from its execution cannot be entirely reliable, we regard it with caution while not disputing its significance and possible veracity.

The portrait of Ibrahim in the Naprstek Museum, Prague, is closely related (Fig. 125). As he has now grown a beard, it must be later, *c.* 1595–1600. He plays his beloved tambur and wears the customary rudraksha necklace. The hint of a European distant vista, first noticed at the top of the St Petersburg painting, is here carried further. Trees are reduced in scale and executed in transparent washes of colour. The artist must have been familiar with European prints and oil paintings, which Ibrahim may have obtained from Portuguese Goa, a mere 250 kilometres from Bijapur.

125 *Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II playing the tambur*, Bijapur, *c.* 1595–1600

This painting also bears important inscriptions. It has been pasted onto a folio of a Mughal album which once belonged to the emperor Jahangir. A Persian inscription on the folio identifies the king as 'Ibrahim Adil Khan Deccani, governor of Bijapur' and attributes the work to the hand of Farrukh Beg, painted in 1610–11. The fact that the inscription is Mughal not Deccani – the Mughals always referred to the Deccani kings as khans, or governors, not sultans or shahs – detracts from its reliability but, like the St Petersburg inscription, again raises the possibility that Farrukh Beg and Farrukh Husain are the same person.

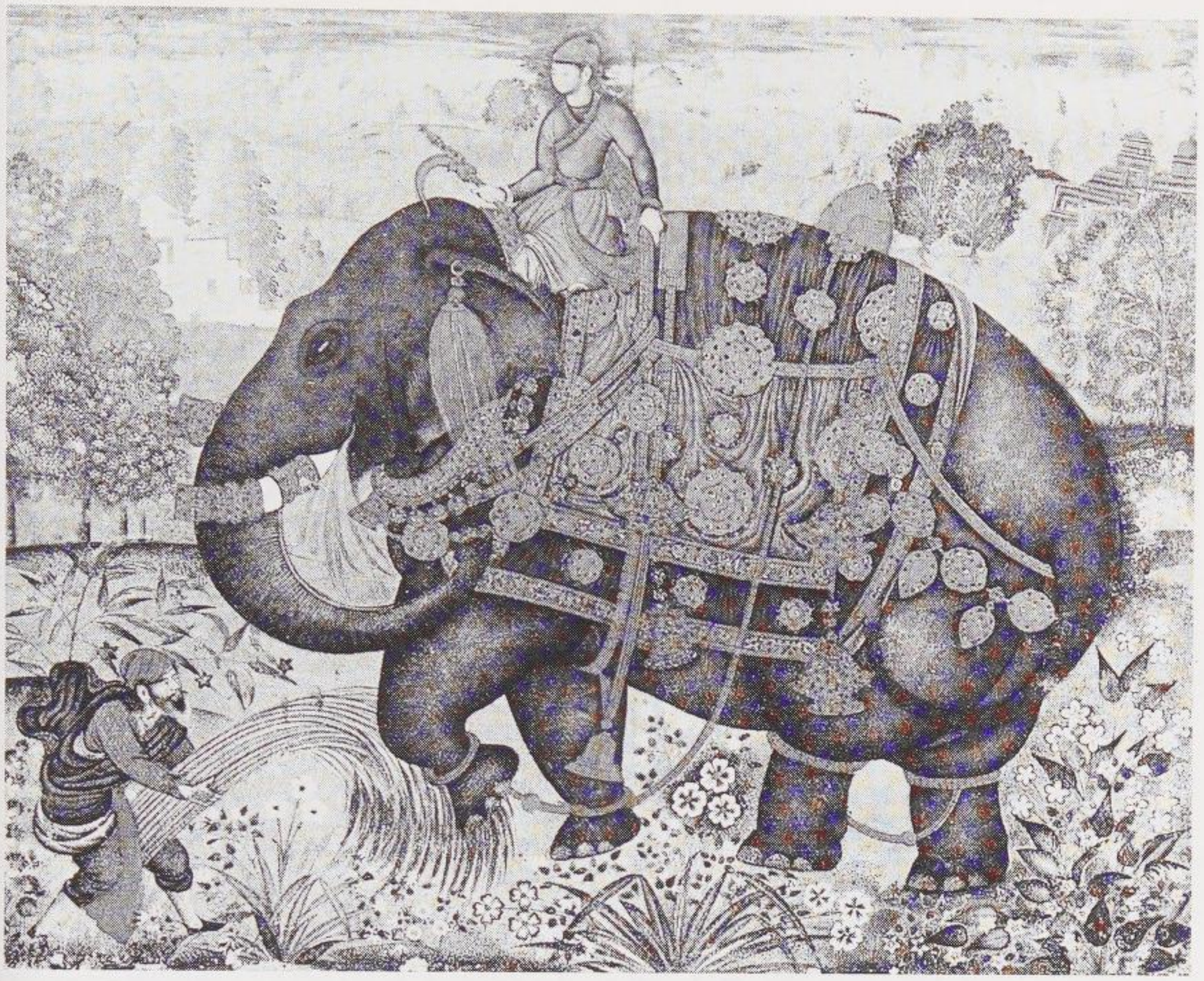
Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II riding an elephant, by the same artist, is in a looser style probably because of its diminutive size (Fig. 126). The animal may be Ibrahim's favourite, Atash Khan, whom he praises in the *Kitab-i Nauras*. Behind Atash Khan stands a smaller elephant, probably Chanchal, his mate. In this Iranian garden setting, European influences are strong: thin washes of colour at the top suggest a distant vista, earthy European colours have replaced Persian iridescence,

126 *Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II riding an elephant*, Bijapur, *c.* 1600–10

and the groom, in the lower right-hand corner, wearing European cape and knee breeches, has been taken from a Western source.

Atash Khan lumbers through a meadow in another painting by the same hand (Fig. 127). Ethereal flowers and trees provide a delicate counterpoint to the animal's great bulk. The groom, gracefully approaching the elephant with armloads of hay, wearing semi-European dress, derives from representations of Summer in sixteenth-century Dutch prints of the Four Seasons. This luminous meadow has as much in common with the backgrounds of Flemish paintings as with the gardens of Iranian art.

A very small picture of a horse and groom in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, continues this European-inspired theme and must again be by the same hand (Fig. 128). Compared to the previous four paintings, the main difference here is that the artist – we may call him the St Petersburg painter or Farrukh Husain or Farrukh Beg with equal justification – is clearly moving away from the highly finished style of his youth towards a freer, more abstract idiom. He now uses only the thinnest washes of colour for distant trees and constructs foreground plants with delicate dabs of paint. The picture may date from *c.* 1610, or later.



127 *Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah's favourite elephant Atash Khan*, Bijapur, *c.* 1600–10

Another group of paintings, all by the same hand, formerly attributed to either Golconda or Ahmadnagar, can now be firmly placed within the Bijapur domain. They include the *Yogini* in the Chester Beatty Library (Fig. 129), the *Siesta* and the *Ascetic visited by a yogini*, both in the Islamisches Museum, Berlin (see Colour Plates 4 and 5), the *Kiss* in the Topkapi Saray, Istanbul, and the *Madonna and child* in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington. All are developments of the simple yet bold style of the illustrations of a Deccani Urdu manuscript in the British Library, entitled the *Pem Nem* (*The Law of Love*). Its Bijapur provenance is undeniable, for its author Hasan Manjhu Khalji describes in first-hand detail the city of Bijapur, Ibrahim Adil Shah, his tambur Moti Khan, his elephant Atash Khan and the *Kitab-i Nauras*.

The hand responsible for the opening illustration, fol. 46a, is by far the most talented of the many painters who worked on the book. This page, which depicts an adolescent prince seated in a green meadow beneath a castle on a crag, in front of a dark-skinned yogini, is so similar to the Dublin *Yogini* that the same hand may be responsible for both. But whereas the former is merely illustrative and exotically pretty, with little real character, the latter haunts us with sinister enchantment: she is a real sorceress wearing extravagant jewels and whispering to a black bird, an evil omen. Fantastic plants undulate beside her. Her face is swarthy and Medusa-like.

128 *Groom calming a horse*, Bijapur, *c.* 1610

The picture's dark ambiguities may symbolise the seductive heresies that rivalled Islam for the allegiance of Ibrahim Adil Shah.

The same artist, whom we can call the Dublin painter, executed a second masterpiece, now in Berlin, of a young prince dozing in a garden. The composition was dubbed the *Siesta* when first published many years ago, and the name has remained attached to it (see Colour Plate 4). Unlike the *Yogini* we see nothing malign here; this is only a sultry but elegant afternoon in the relaxed atmosphere of Ibrahim's court. The art of living was obviously so important to the Deccanis that such 'unserious' pursuits became a major theme of art. It is as if the task of ruling and the stress of conquest which so obsessed the Mughals and provided the subject for so many of their paintings did not exist in the south. As the sleeping prince resembles Ibrahim when he was still beardless, the *Siesta* may be an idealised portrait of the sultan shown as a beardless youth, the conventional ideal of beauty in Persian literature, although the picture must date from the early seventeenth century.

The *Ascetic visited by a yogini*, also in Berlin, is probably by the same artist a decade or so later (see Colour Plate 5). Shading has hardened into firm patterns, and

129 *Yogini*, attributed to the Dublin painter, Bijapur, early seventeenth century

colours are darker. Gold and lapis lazuli are used more abundantly and the distant vista – so ethereal in earlier pictures – has now become crowded with figures and pavilions, suggesting the hubbub of the world which the saint had fled. He turns away from it, and also from the yogini, who, with palms together in the Indian gesture of adoration, tries to make the holy man into an object of worship.

A similar theme is explored in *Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II venerates a learned sufi* (Fig. 130). The sultan humbly poses as the sufi's servant, bearing a bejewelled water

130 *Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II venerates a learned sufi*, written attribution to the painter Ali Reza, Bijapur, *c.* 1630

flask and a spittoon. This image reminds us of Ibrahim's piety and attachment to dervishes, first suggested by the Bodleian picture. The fully rounded forms, rigidly architectural setting and heavily shaded faces look forward to trends in mid-seventeenth-century Bijapur painting and must, therefore, date from the last years of Ibrahim's reign. The attribution written on the eighteenth-century mount to Ali Reza cannot refer to the Bikaner artist of the same name whose Rajasthani work has nothing in common with the style of this picture.

BIJAPUR: REIGNS OF THE LATER SULTANS

The partition of Ahmadnagar between the Mughal empire and Bijapur in 1636 brought a large Mughal military force into the northern and central Deccan. Among the many Rajput princes serving as governors and officers in the imperial army were the maharajas of Bundi, Kotah and Bikaner. The successive maharajas of Kotah, for example, spent nearly all their lives in the Deccan during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Such grand princes brought their wives, relatives and servants. It is certain that painters accompanied them as well so that the maharajas could continue their role as patrons of the arts from the magnificent tents in which they lived.

The proximity of so many Mughal and Rajput patrons and artists transformed Bijapur taste. Mughal art was relatively naturalistic: favourite themes were portraiture or the recording of real events, contemporary or historical. The artist's name and the subject of the picture were often identified through inscriptions written by either the artist, the patron or a library clerk. The Deccani painter, who was up to then almost always anonymous, sought instead to establish moods and, therefore, shunned realistic colours and shapes. Portraiture was extremely popular, but conventional ideals of beauty won out over the physical likeness of the subject, who is, moreover, rarely identified in inscriptions.

With the arrival of the Mughals and Rajputs, differences between the art of North India and the Deccan began to fade, though they never completely disappeared. Mughal-style portraiture, with subjects placed against a stark background, restrained in line and colour, gained popularity. Most Bijapur painting from the reign of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah retains the brilliant decorative sense of the Deccan, but the romantic atmosphere of earlier work declines. Nevertheless, the subjects' expressive gestures and sidelong glances and the vibrant Deccani colours inject a vitality that is often lacking in northern art. Curiously, there is also a new interest in historical record as if the Deccanis were trying to challenge the victorious Mughals at their own game; several paintings of the mid-seventeenth century are signed and a few are even dated!

Until recently there was very little evidence that Mughal artists had emigrated to the courts of the Deccani sultans. A painting in the Sidhu Collection in California, however, suggests that at least one Mughal painter – and a remarkably talented one

131 *Darbar of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah*, inscribed as the work of Muhammad Khan, son of Miyan Chand, Bijapur, dated 1651

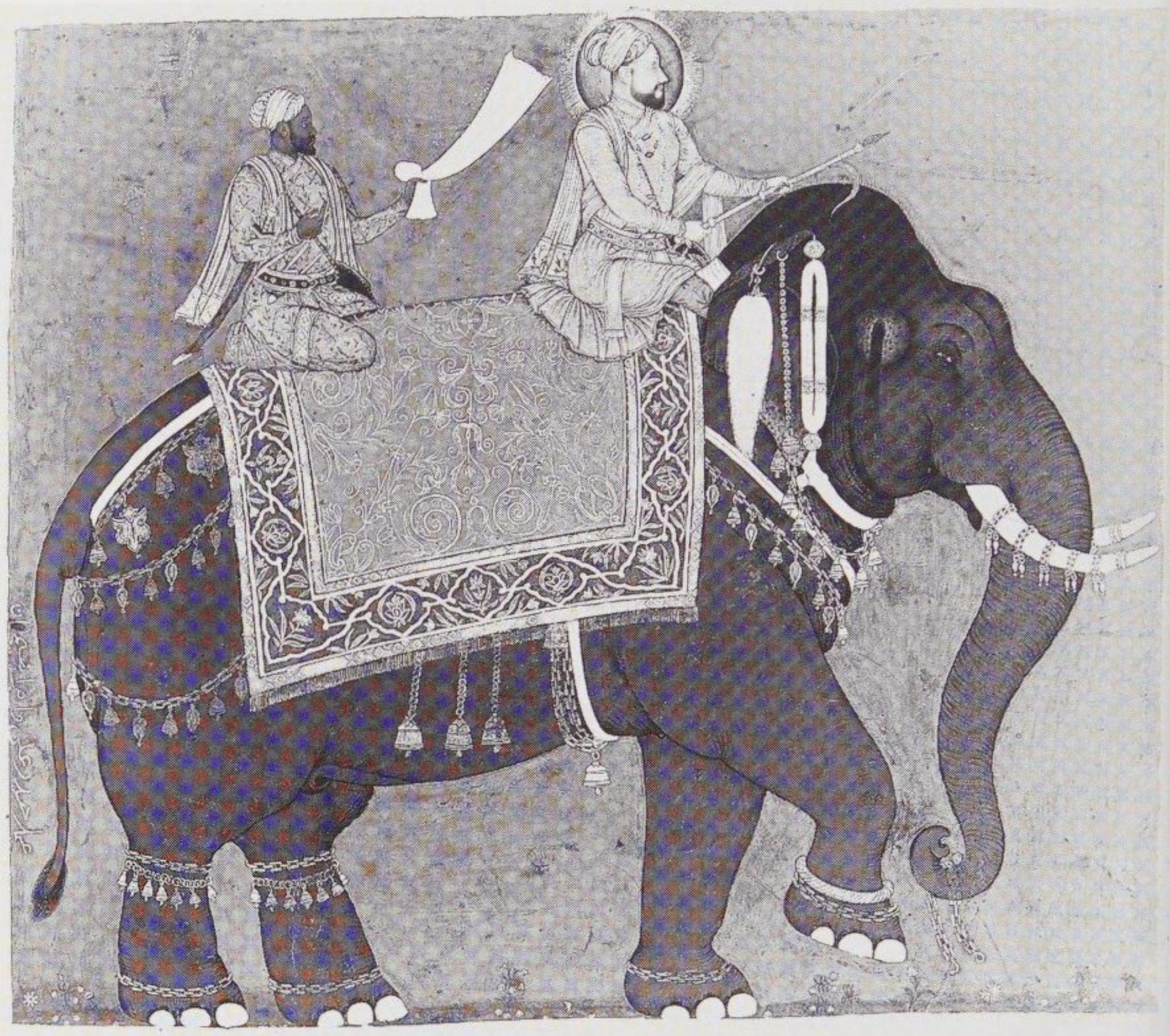
at that – was working at Bijapur early in Muhammad's reign (see Colour Plate 7). It is clearly a portrait of Muhammmad as a young man, as a comparison with the few inscribed portraits of this sultan proves. As he was born in 1613 and seems barely more than 20 years old here, we can date the portrait to about 1635.

The figure of the sultan is clearly modelled after the imagery developed for Shah Jahan and could only have been executed by an artist from the Mughal atelier. The sultan's turban, belt and dagger, and even the posture of his body, are so like Bichitr's famous portrait of Shah Jahan in the Victoria and Albert Museum, dated 1632, that they could have been drawn from the same charba, or pounce, a piece of paper or thin vellum pricked with holes used for tracing. Our Mughal artist must have arrived in the Deccan shortly before executing this portrait, for he has assimilated nothing of the local style. Later Mughal input assumes a Bijapur flavour, as in the darbar scene of 1651 which has stronger colours and more vibrant lines (Fig. 131).

The Sidhu portrait is probably an uneasy alliance of two artists from different backgrounds. The drawing of the sultan is coolly Mughal, but the colours are South Indian and rich, and above all the background is amongst the wildest and most mysterious in all of Deccani art. Muhammad wears a canary yellow shawl over a glistening gold and silver ikat coat and stands before a mauve sky. Star-like flowers sparkle at his feet. The bird-filled tree is painted in the local 'pointilliste' technique. The sultan listens to a parrot, considered in India to be capable of transmitting secrets. A conch shell lies at his feet, while by his side a pillar supports a porcelain cup and a glass carafe filled with blood-red wine. The image must have had a symbolic meaning understood by the initiated few at court and lost to us now. All these details, but especially the feeling of intense energy pouring out from the natural world behind the sultan's cool façade, remind us of the brilliant artist who worked for Ibrahim II whom we have called the Bodleian painter. We believe a Mughal artist using a charba of Shah Jahan drew the face and figure of the sultan in the latest Mughal fashion. The Bodleian painter, prized for his ability to create lush romantic moods, coloured the figure and filled in the background.

It is interesting to note the gradual absorption of northern influences. In the darbar scene of the same sultan in the Jaipur collection there is no longer a question of a purely Mughal figure against a purely Deccani landscape; instead we have a more integrated composition (Fig. 131). Although Mughal conventions are still strong in facial types and costumes, the rich palette of maroon, orange, bright blue and moss-green is Deccani. Moreover, the informal pose of the sultan on a bed-like throne, a traditional South Indian convention, and the expressive gestures of the nobles charge the scene with an energy that would be out of place in a Mughal picture.

The Persian inscription on the scroll held by the courtier directly beneath the throne, which gives both the date and the artist's name, is crucial for our reconstruction of the Deccani schools, as no other signed and dated work from before the late eighteenth century is known. The date corresponds to 1651. The courtier holding the scroll points exactly to the painter's name, 'Muhammad Khan, son of Miyan Chand'. His gesture reinforces the picture's significance as a pictorial announcement of a royal grant to the artist and suggests that the figure in question



132 *Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah and Ikhlas Khan riding an elephant*, signed by Haidar Ali and Ibrahim Khan, Bijapur, mid-seventeenth century

is Muhammad Khan himself. If he is the artist, then this is one of the very few Indian self-portraits. It strongly implies that the master painters at Bijapur enjoyed prestigious positions at court, similar to the rank held by Farrukh Husain earlier in the century at the court of Ibrahim II, for the artist's jewellery and robes are as sumptuous as those of the other courtiers.

Muhammad Khan obviously specialised in court portraiture for his hand is noticeable in paintings in the India Office Library, in the British Museum, in the Jaipur Collection and in the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd. According to the inscription, revenue from the town of Tib [?] will provide the painter with a daily income of half a hun, the currency used in South India and the Deccan. A second Persian inscription, obscured by repainting, is barely visible between the skirt of the throne and the great floral meander at the bottom of the painting. It also attributes the painting to 'Muhammad Khan, son of Miyan Chand', and can be deciphered

only because it is identical to the undamaged inscription on another portrait of the same sultan in the Jaipur Collection.

Most of the other courtiers are not easily identifiable because of the rarity of inscribed Bijapur portraits. The noble standing behind Muhammad Khan is Sayyid Nurullah, who appears opposite the sultan in a double portrait in the tiny *Divan* of Urfi, dated 1636, now in an American private collection. The stout, dark-skinned courtier gesturing towards the king is definitely the African vizier, Ikhlas Khan, who dominated both his feeble master and the kingdom. The noble holding the turban pin across from the sultan is shown in an identical pose in a painting in the India Office Library, though we do not yet know his name.

Muhammad Khan's work, undeniably competent, informative and colourful, is staid in comparison to the portrait of Muhammad Adil Shah and Ikhlas Khan, his Habshi vizier, astride a richly caparisoned elephant, in the Sir Howard Hodgkin Collection, London (Fig. 132). We are immediately struck by the fluid contours of the animal's body and the magnificent colours: the background is vivid blue, Ikhlas Khan wears a silver-grey coat strewn with pink blossoms and the sultan is entirely dressed in gold, the surface of his robe pricked with a stylus to catch the light. We are reminded of earlier portraits from Ibrahim's reign, though now Mughal precision and restraint have replaced the earlier mood of fantasy.

An inscription running up the lower left-hand side of the page, written in elegant gold naskh, gives the names of two hitherto unknown artists: Haidar Ali and Ibrahim Khan. We know for certain that at the Mughal court some painters specialised in drawing outlines, others in colouring those outlines and still others in painting faces. This inscription suggests a similar arrangement at Bijapur, but we do not yet know which portion of the work was allotted to which artist, information usually included in Mughal inscriptions. A portrait of this sultan's grandson, Sikandar, in the Custodia Collection, Paris, also bears a written attribution to two artists, one of whom is Ibrahim Khan, but again the inscription fails to inform us about the precise division of labour.

The most ambitious work to have survived from the reign of Muhammad Adil Shah is a large drawing touched with colour and gold depicting an assembly of what must have been a large part of the Bijapur court (Fig. 133). The sultan performs religious rites in a grand chamber before a sanctuary richly hung with flowers containing a golden casket inscribed with the names of Allah and Muhammad. At the sultan's feet lies a dhup-dan, or incense burner, loaded with burning sticks that perfume the hall. Some forty-two courtiers stand in a circle around the sultan, including Ikhlas Khan. A curious dervish behind the sultan wears a conical hat inscribed with holy names. Most of the notables stand in rigid poses of religious propriety with grave expressions on their faces; in fact the drawing is formal to the point of stiffness, a mood that may have been thought appropriate to the solemnity of the occasion. Some nobles, however, implore the sultan with open mouths while others cry out with pious fervour. One man even faints away in ecstasy. A tiny

133 *Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah and courtiers performing religious rites in the Asar Mahal*, signed by Abdul Karim, Bijapur, mid-seventeenth century

inscription on the open book held by the third figure below Ikhlas Khan gives the painter's name, Abdul Karim.

The casket in this painting is probably the famous reliquary containing hairs from the Prophet's beard enshrined in the Asar Mahal, the immense palatial relic house just outside the citadel at Bijapur. The tall ribbed pilasters, the large ogivally arched windows and the lattice-work above the windows are still clearly recognis-

able in the interior of the actual edifice. The ceremony depicted must be the annual viewing of the Prophet's hairs, the most significant Muslim festival at Bijapur, even today. The flower-decked sanctuary, the incense, the assembly of the court and the decoration of the chamber strewn with superb Iranian and Indian carpets – still kept in the storeroom of the shrine and in the local museum – are all appropriate for the celebration of this event. It is curious how Deccani taste moved away from the fantasy of the pictures done for Ibrahim II to the almost excessive recording of detail of this painting without ever accepting the restrained realism of Mughal art.

Two Bijapur flower paintings, very different from one another, exemplify Muslim delight in floral and abstract design in preference to figural art. The floral fantasy in the Sidhu Collection, composed of delicate palmettes, flame-like sprouts and Timurid-inspired lotuses, explodes with the rhythm and energy of the traditional Islamic arabesque (Fig. 134). It has more in common with the taste of Ibrahim's reign than that of Muhammad's era. The great floral vase in the Hodgkin Collection is, on the other hand, characteristic of mid-seventeenth-century Bijapur (Fig. 135). (It may be compared with the gold and lapis vase designs in the murals of the Asar Mahal at Bijapur; see Colour Plate 12.) Moreover, the fine border of a portrait of Ali Adil Shah II in the Barber Institute, Birmingham, is by the same hand as the Hodgkin vase, with similar floral medallions and an identical use of deep maroon with blue, rare colours seen also in the *Darbar of Ali Adil Shah II* of *c.* 1660 (Fig. 137).

Considering the taste for abstract art throughout the Islamic world, it is not surprising that connoisseurs in Turkey, Iran and India greatly admired marbled paper and marbled paper drawings. Martin (1912:93–4, 106–8) attributed the greatest examples of this craft to Ottoman Turkey, and rightly suggested that the 'colours must have been applied while the paper was wet, since the paper is completely saturated with them'. He mentions the brilliant, variegated colours, the outlines 'enhanced by gold lines drawn by a hand that even the greatest European decorator would have envied', the Turkish love for this expensive paper, and its great rarity, so sought after that few collectors were willing to part with it. The prestige of marbled work has recently been confirmed by the discovery of two superb pages of Timurid marbled paper, inscribed in a fine *divani* hand, now in the Kronos Collection, New York. They are decorated with matching 'chinoiserie' patterns evoking weeping willow branches, outlined in gold. The inscription states that they were among the presents sent from Iran to Sultan Ghiyathuddin Khalji of Mandu and entered into the royal library on 11 August 1496. This craft, which today would be considered a minor art form, was deemed worthy of special historical note in Islamic India.

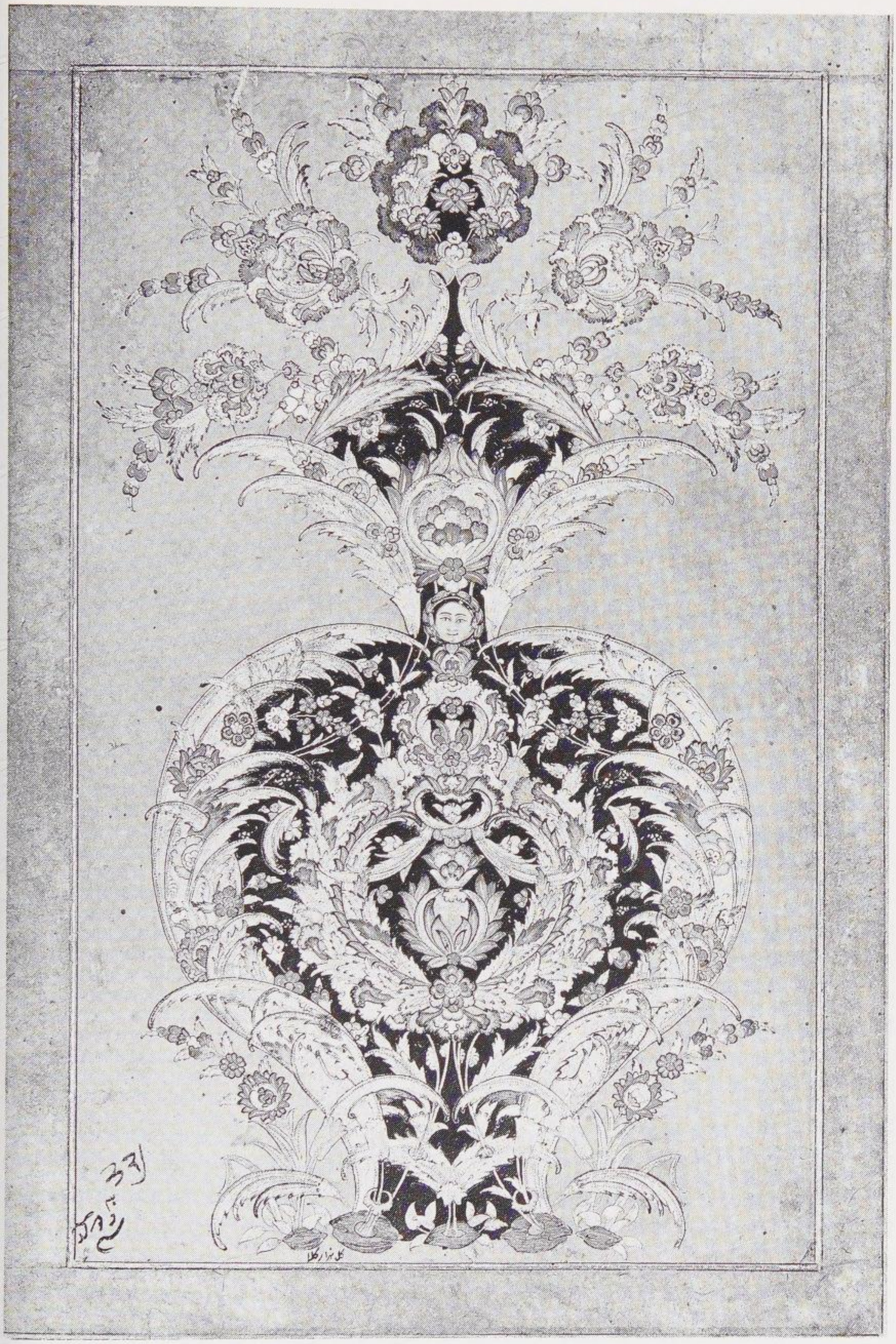
There is strong evidence that most of the surviving marbled drawings with human or animal figures, including those first published by Martin, were executed not in Iran or Turkey but in the Deccan. Some of the best examples are either still in Deccani collections, or were acquired in the Deccan. Where human figures occur,

134 *Floral fantasy*, Bijapur, first half of seventeenth century

their faces and costumes are typical of Bijapur in the mid-seventeenth century. The mauve, blue and yellow clouds in the background of so many Deccani pictures, often painted in turbulently swirled patterns, resemble the patterns of marbled paper, as in the *Deer hunt* (Fig. 139). Finally, the marbled paper so often used in Deccani manuscripts for end papers and the margins of paintings is of the same variety as in the marbled drawings.

The finest surviving example is the *Starving horse harassed by birds*, in a private collection (Fig. 136). The subject symbolises the lower instincts of human nature which the mystic must 'starve' to attain spiritual progress. Here, in a moving way that astonishingly transcends the merely decorative nature of the craft, blood oozes from marbled wounds between golden ribs, combining pathos and preciousness in a most poignant manner.

The integration of Mughal and Deccani stylistic elements continued during the reigns of Ali II and Sikandar Adil Shah, but new aims became apparent. Portraiture retains its popularity but there is a reassertion of local decorative values and a



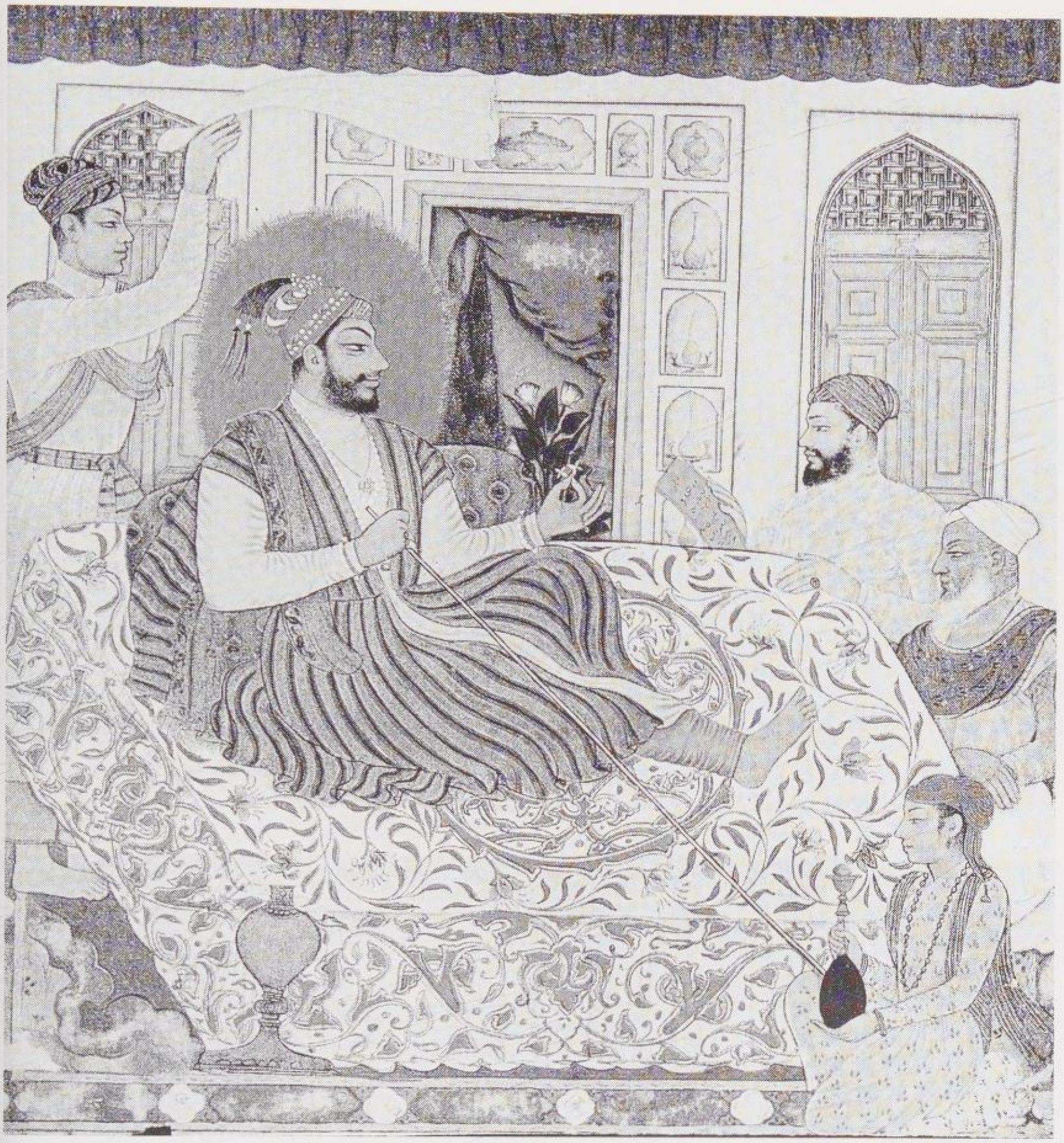
135 *Floral vase*, Bijapur, *c.* 1650

136 *Starving horse harassed by birds*, marbled paper drawing, Bijapur, mid-seventeenth century

rejection of Mughal realism. Line becomes more playful, with a typically Deccani spring. Eyes become larger and sweep gracefully upwards, as in the eighteenth-century Kishangarh school of Rajasthan, the artists of which may have learned this mannerism from Bijapur. Rich colours reappear, elegant gesturing becomes the rule and Mughal formality yields to Deccani romanticism. In short, pattern and ornament reassert their earlier importance over narrative values. It is clear that as Bijapur reeled under Mughal aggression, the arts achieved a new brilliance.

The *Darbar of Sultan Ali Adil Shah II* in the collection of the late Dr Moti Chandra, Bombay, uses the conventions of the Jaipur picture of 1651 (see Fig. 131), but far surpasses it with its daring colour and rhapsodic line (Fig. 137). The earlier work is historical record, the later one a statement of cultural and psychological realities, and therefore much more original. In part it is a picture of the vivacity of youth, for the sultan appears to be in his early twenties, an age that would provide a date of *c.* 1660.

The courtier holding the scroll to the right of the sultan is a Hindu, as he wears a caste mark on his forehead. The only Hindu nobles at court were the Maratha chief Shahji and his renegade son Shivaji. Shahji organised a truce between Ali and his son in 1661 which lasted three years. The painting may represent the reconciliation

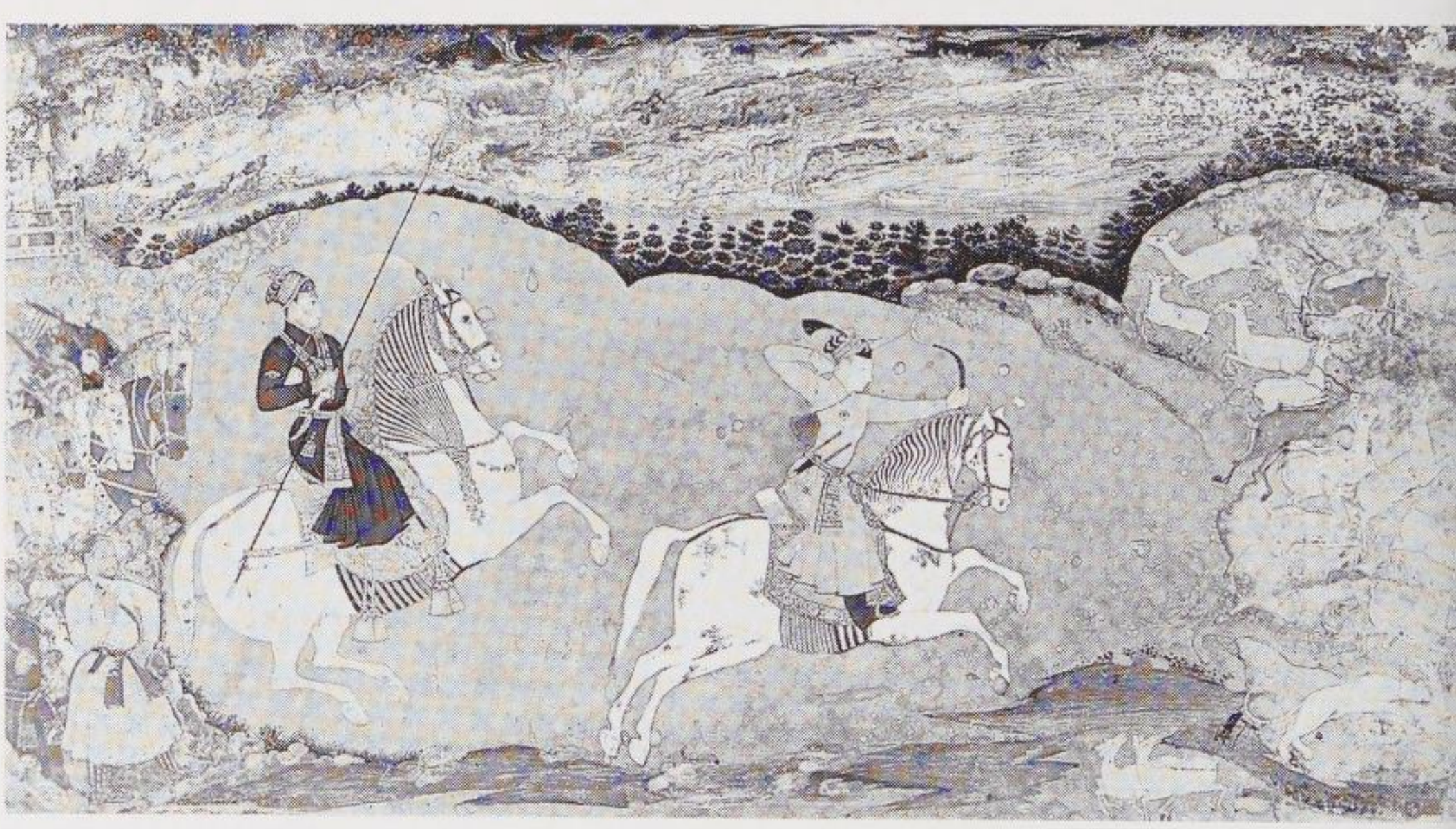


137 *Darbar of Sultan Ali Adil Shah II*, attributed to the Bombay painter, Bijapur, *c.* 1660

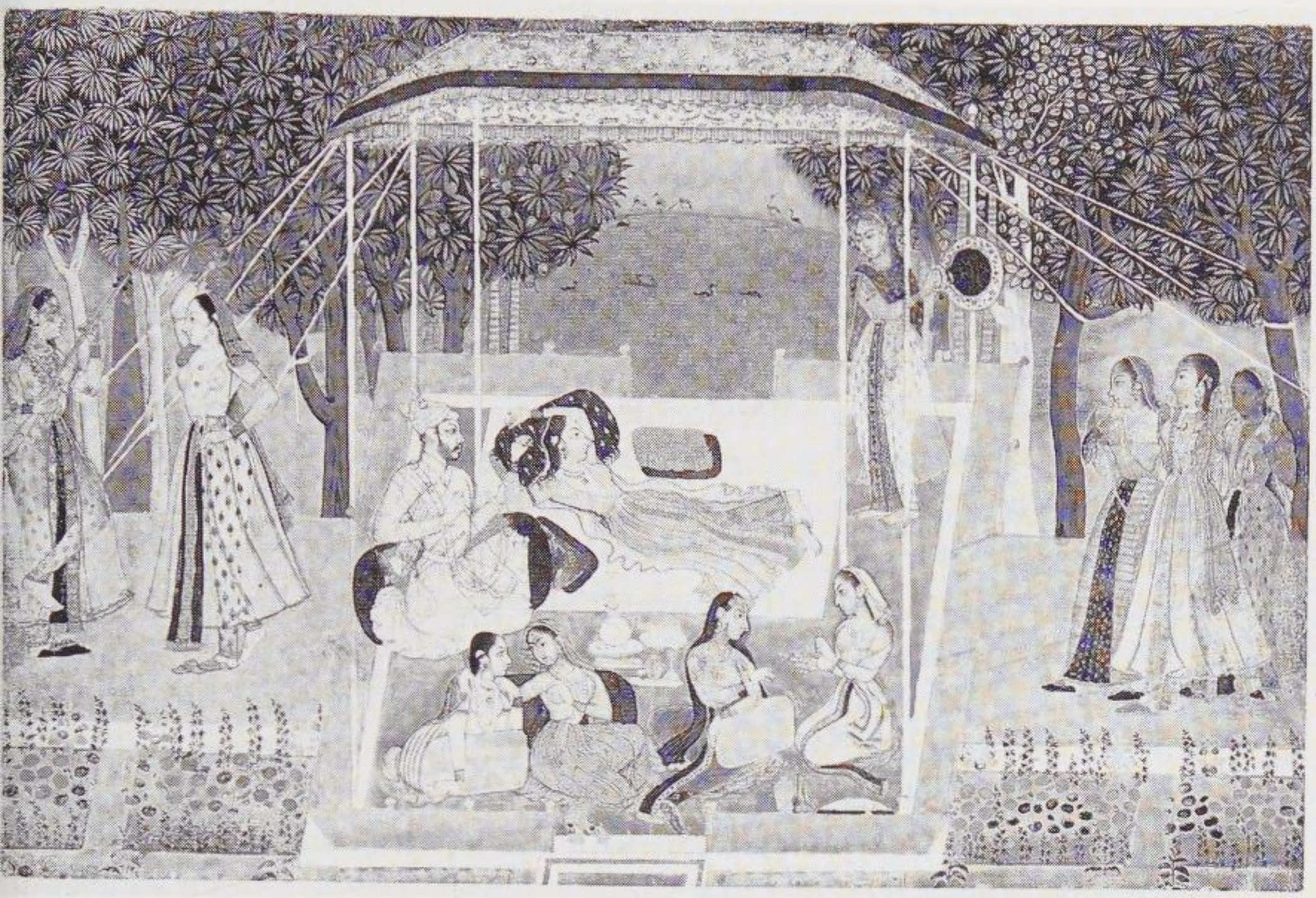
of the three men. The nobleman with the scroll may be Shivaji, holding the royal firman pardoning him for his offences, while the white-bearded dignitary at his side may be his father.

A likeness of Ali shooting an arrow at a tiger, in a private collection, is by the same artist, whom we can dub the Bombay painter (Fig. 138). The sultan is shown in the stance of royal prowess, like royal figures slaughtering beasts in ancient Achaemenid and Sassanian art, oddly enough more clearly 'remembered' in seventeenth-century India than in Iran. His radiant face, giant size and sparkling lapis lazuli turban all contribute to the emblematic effect. Torn at the bottom, the

138 *Sultan Ali Adil Shah II shooting an arrow at a tiger*, attributed to the Bombay painter, Bijapur, *c.* 1660



139 *Deer hunt*, Bijapur, *c.* 1660–70



140 *Sultan Ali Adil Shah II with a courtesan*, Bijapur, *c.* 1660–70

picture probably lacks about one third of its original surface. Just beneath the bow is the curved golden tail of a missing mythological beast, probably a griffin, upon which Ali originally stood.

The great *Deer hunt* in a private collection possesses a similar heroic mood, retaining the poetry of early seventeenth-century Deccani art (Fig. 139). Two princes, the first dressed in mauve riding a white horse, the second in maroon on a blue stallion, advance majestically towards a herd of deer which bolt in utter confusion. Facial types, costumes and the domed building in the upper left conform to Bijapur conventions. What really elevates this scene of man preying upon animals is its setting. Above a jagged horizon, windswept trees punctuate a sombre sky, beneath turbulent clouds like the curious designs of marbled paper. We seem suddenly to be witnessing not a mere hunt but a ritual slaughter, performed to the thunderous din of an approaching storm.

The unfinished *Sultan Ali Adil Shah II with a courtesan* depicted beneath a garden canopy strikes a profoundly different mood though it was executed by a closely related artist at about the same time (Fig. 140). Botticelli-like, it celebrates the charms of love and beauty with no sinister undertones. Ali grasps the arm of his indolent lover while spring breezes caress a perfect garden; mango trees blossom on the right of the tent while others bear mature fruit on the left. Some areas, like the garments and the vegetation, are fully completed, while other areas – the figure of

the sultan for example – still await the finishing touch of the artist. Several eighteenth-century Hyderabad paintings survive which are more formal but still charming versions of this delightful picture.

Painting continued in much the same mould under Sultan Sikandar who came to the throne at the age of 4 and who was deposed by the Mughals at 18. Considering his youth and the constant civil strife leading to the Mughal conquest, it is perhaps unwise to ascribe artistic patronage to the king himself. Probably the great nobles, increasingly independent at their jagirs, or estates, employed important painters who may have been fleeing the capital at this time. At any rate, only a few pictures can be attributed to the last two decades of independence. One is an accomplished portrait of Sikandar in the Custodia Collection, Paris, which bears a Persian inscription attributing the work to the artists Abdul Qadir and Ibrahim Khan. The name of the latter artist also appears in second place on the portrait of *Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah and Ikhlas Khan riding an elephant*, painted a few decades earlier (see Fig. 132). A more ambitious work is the *Sultans of the Adil Shahi dynasty* in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Although such genealogical pictures, portraying the ruling members of the dynasty seated together, are known from Mughal India – the most notable being the *Emperors and princes of the House of Timur* in the British Museum – this is the only royal example from the Deccan. Sikandar is shown as a very dark-skinned child of about 10 or 12, much as he appears in the Paris portrait.

CHAPTER 6

MINIATURE PAINTING: GOLCONDA AND OTHER CENTRES

GOLCONDA

Both the character of Golconda painting and the problems involved in reconstructing its history differ considerably from those of other Deccani schools. Neither the austere compositions nor the majestic human figures of Ahmadnagar are present; nor do we encounter the mysterious and romantic world represented in Bijapur art, so far removed from everyday reality. Instead, close ties with Safavid and Mughal art continued throughout the history of the school. Although the Qutb Shahi sultans enjoyed exotic diversity in the paintings they commissioned and employed painters from all over India, Iran and Central Asia – who continued to paint in variants of their original styles – Safavid influence was paramount. This meant that Golconda art was always less humanistic than other Deccani schools: figures are closer to the glorious dolls of Safavid illustration and, therefore, possess less mass and naturalistic expression than is usual in the arts of India.

The Middle Eastern orientation of Golconda painting can be partly explained by the ethnic origins of the ruling house which was descended from the Qara Qoyunlu (Black Sheep) Turkman sultans of western Iran and Anatolia. They were forced to emigrate to India in the fifteenth century and must have continued similar patterns of artistic patronage in the subcontinent, attracting above all Persian artists and writers to their court.

The heterogeneous nature of the school makes it very difficult to chronicle. As only a fragmentary portion of the original output has survived, great Golconda pictures seem like isolated peaks of genius, bearing little relation to one another. Every phase of Safavid art has its reflection at Golconda. To complicate matters, by the second half of the seventeenth century we begin to discern reciprocal Indian influences on Iranian art emanating from both the Mughal and Deccani traditions. The Persian artists Shaykh Abbasi and Muhammad Zaman were especially responsive to Deccani design; the mysterious painter Rahim Dakani – whose name of course suggests a Deccani connection – worked in a style which would have been equally at home in late seventeenth-century Isfahan or Golconda.

Despite links to Iran, a local flavour inevitably developed. Both native and foreign artists must have often worked side by side and influenced each other's work. They must also have used locally available pigments so that the characteristically fiery palette of Golconda developed, mainly lilac-pink, coral-red and turquoise-blue. Both abstract ornament and figural scenes have a seething vitality of

141 Angels bearing trays, detail of frontispiece of the *Zakhira-i Khwarizmshahi*, Golconda, dated 1572

line and composition and occasionally an Indian feeling for mass that is fundamentally un-Persian. Instead, we are reminded of the pulsating rhythms of the Indian dance and the dense stone figures on the façades of South Indian temples. In short, despite Persianate taste, an underlying Indian sensibility is everywhere apparent.

The earliest miniature paintings probably date from the reign of Ibrahim Qutb Shah, all in variants of Persian styles and not one equal to the masterpieces of the following reign. The manuscript of the *Anwar-i Suhayli* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, possibly dating from the 1550s or 1560s, has 126 miniatures. It bears Qutb Shahi seals but no colophon. The vegetation is exuberantly lush, and the architecture depicted has Golconda traits. Related illustrated manuscripts are the *Sindbad Namah* in the India Office Library, London, and the *Shirin and Khusrau* in the Khudabaksh Library, Patna, though neither has a proper colophon mentioning a Golconda patron.

We are on surer ground with the medical encyclopaedia entitled *Zakhira-i Khwarizmshahi* in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, for its colophon states that it was written at Golconda in 1572. There are no illustrations, but the double-page frontispiece has superb simurghs attacking leonine dragons and flying angels bearing trays and tambourines, all amidst seething arabesques (Fig. 141). The simurghs and dragons are similar in form and spirit to those of a great Golconda dagger (see Fig. 169).

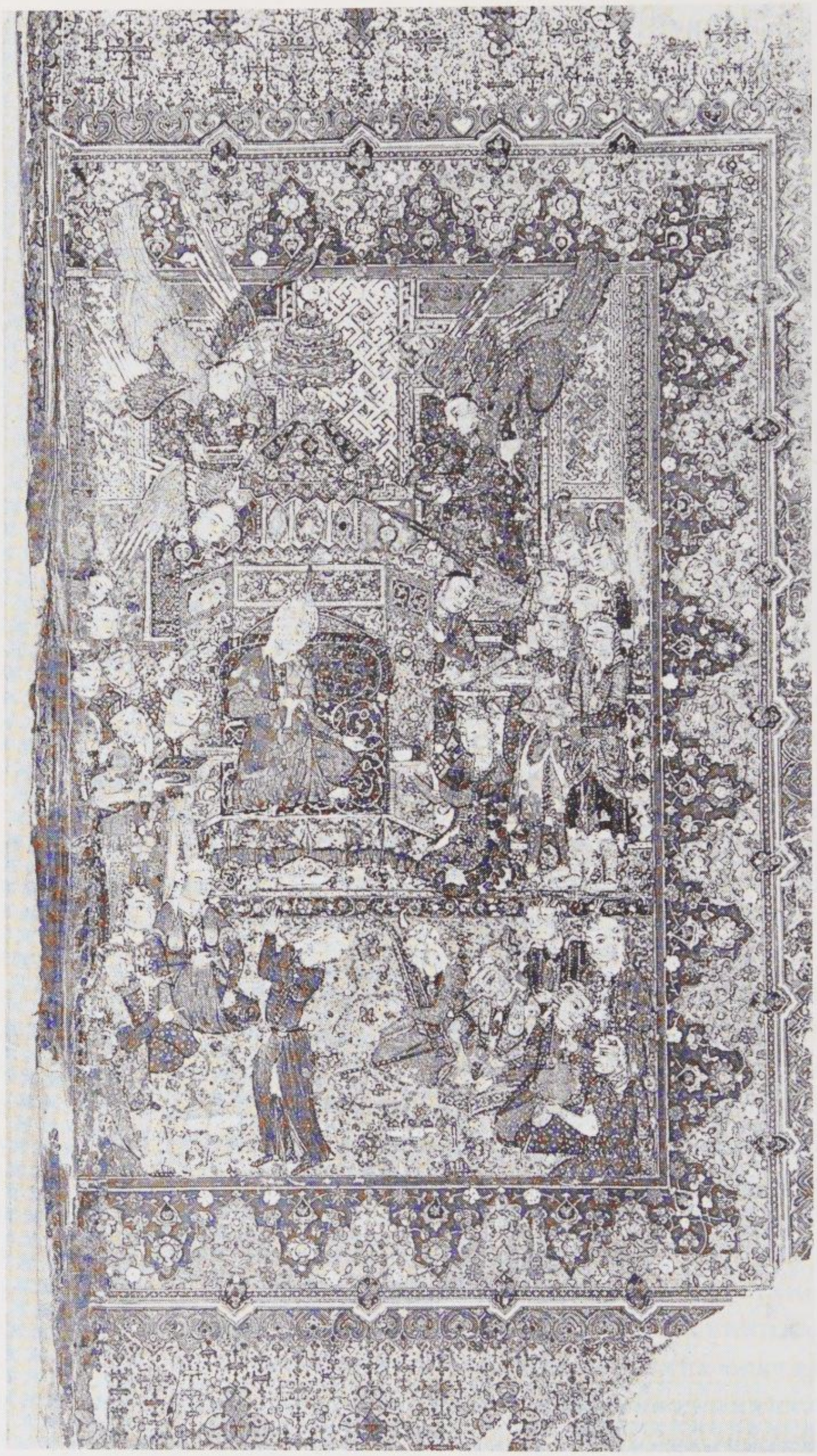
Deccani tradition affirms that the next sultan, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, was as important a patron of the arts as his contemporary at Bijapur, Ibrahim Adil Shah II. Few paintings survive from Muhammad's reign, but those which do are extraordinary Golconda variations on Persian themes. Nearly all are contained in a sumptuous manuscript of the sultan's own Urdu verse, the *Kulliyat*, in the Salar Jang Museum, Hyderabad, so lavishly illuminated and illustrated that it must be Muhammad Quli's own copy. The quality of his poetry establishes him as India's first great Urdu poet.

The first six miniatures sparkle with tooled gold surfaces, iridescent colours and applied areas of marbled paper. They embody more than any other work the richness – some would say the excess – of Golconda taste. They are all by the same hand which, although profoundly influenced by Bukhara styles, exhibits strong Indian traits. The first miniature, fol. 5a, depicting a polo match, has facial types which derive from Deccani conventions. In the second page, fol. 12a, a man servant at bottom left, opening a ewer of wine, again shows Deccani traits. The fourth miniature, fol. 29b, swarms with life. King Solomon sits on his throne surrounded by animals who glance and growl at each other, and strange grotesque masks munch on the leafy border! A simurgh, made of applied marbled paper, flies by. In the fifth illustration, fol. 53b, angels shower a prince with jewels as he observes a dance performance (Fig. 142). The angels' wings are of marbled paper. The paint surface is so thick that it has crackled like porcelain, and in some areas the details are in relief. The ladies seated at bottom right resemble figures in early Mughal art.

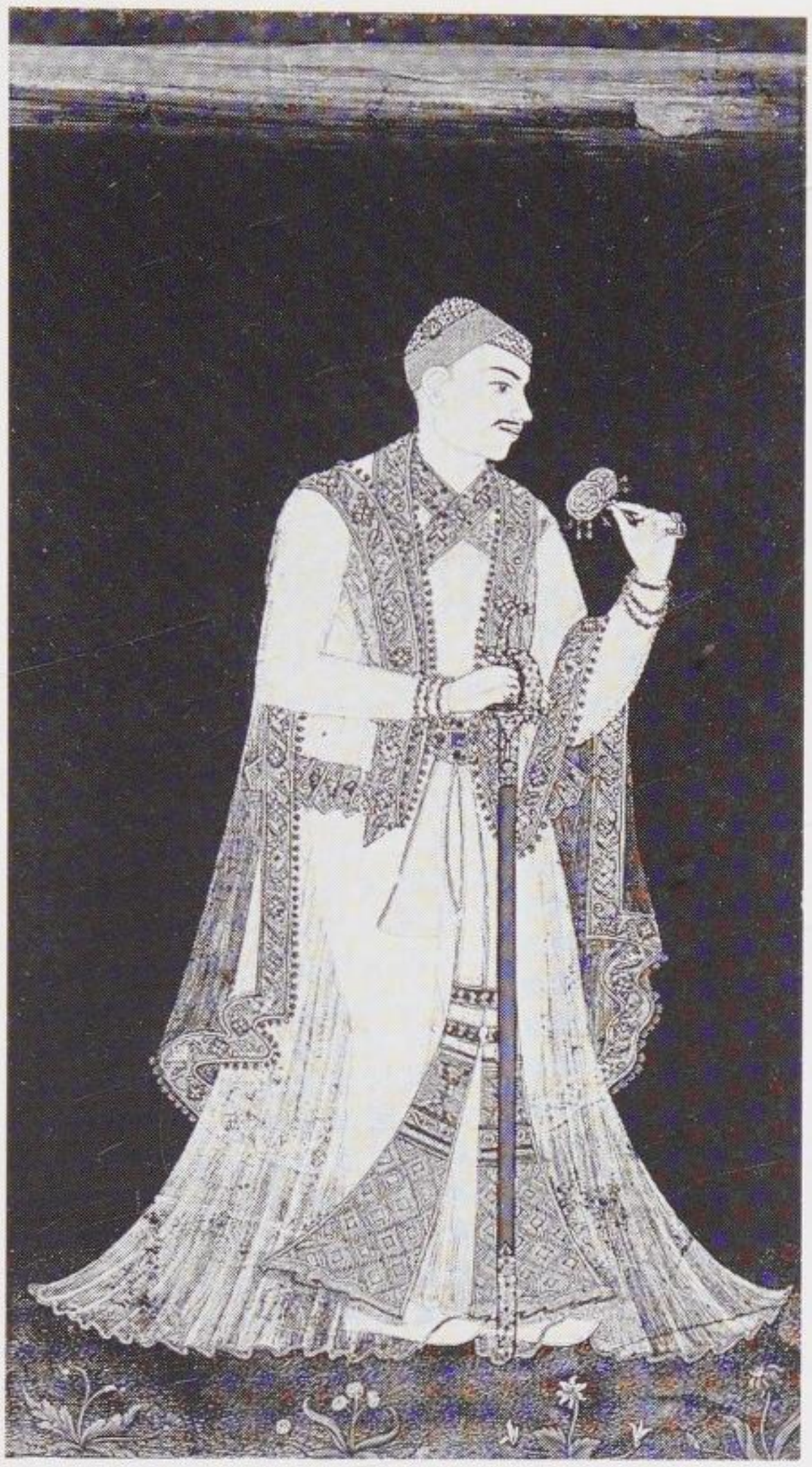
We believe that this artist is Indian, although he has absorbed much from Safavid and Bukhara example. The restraint of Persian art is noticeably absent in his work, though present in the last two illustrations of the book, fols. 93a and 97b, both probably by a Bukhara émigré painter. Sober in his use of line and colour to the point of dullness, he proves himself an artist of little originality.

Few other paintings can be attributed with certainty to Golconda during the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries. The tiny *Prince and an ascetic* in the Freer Gallery, Washington, signed by Jan Quli, has recently been attributed to Bijapur, but displays Golconda characteristics in its colouring and in its architectural details such as the intersecting arcade over the garden gate. The *Composite horse* and the *Tree on the island of Waqwaq*, both in the Islamisches Museum, Berlin, also show Golconda traits. The *Prince hawking* in the India Office Library, the *Young prince riding a horse* in the Mayer Institute, Jerusalem, and the *Two lovers*, in the Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, are probably Golconda versions of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Safavid pictures, respectively.

We are on surer ground with a portrait of Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah, in a private collection (Fig. 143). Dressed in a white muslin jama sumptuously bordered with gold, he ambles through a garden against a jet-black background. Although the figure's rigidity suggests a date three or four decades after the sultan's death in 1626, there is still considerable poetry: the sultan seems not of this world, but as



142 *Dancing before a sultan*, fol. 53b of the *Kulliyat* of Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, Golconda, *c.* 1590–1600



143 *Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah*, Golconda, second half of seventeenth century

delicate as the rose he sniffs. The image contrasts profoundly with the Mughal portrait of the same king by the artist Hashim, inscribed in Jahangir's own hand as 'a good likeness of Sultan Muhammad Qutb al-Mulk', probably based on a lost Deccani original (Fig. 144). In the Mughal picture there is no feeling for the pleasures of the fleeting moment. Instead, Muhammad is rooted to the spot like a butterfly pinned down in a case. We sense the atmosphere of isolation and formality of a great imperial court, so much at odds with real human feelings.

With the establishment of the Mughal protectorate during the reign of Muhammad's successor, Abdullah Qutb Shah, Mughal cultural influence at Golconda – as at Bijapur – rapidly increased. In the arts Mughal realism came to be just as admired as the Persian tradition. A great painter who worked for Abdullah late in his reign in a semi-Deccani, semi-Mughal idiom created a handful of extraordinary portraits of the sultan and members of the court (Figs. 147–50). None of these works is inscribed, but their subjects can be identified by comparison with the large number

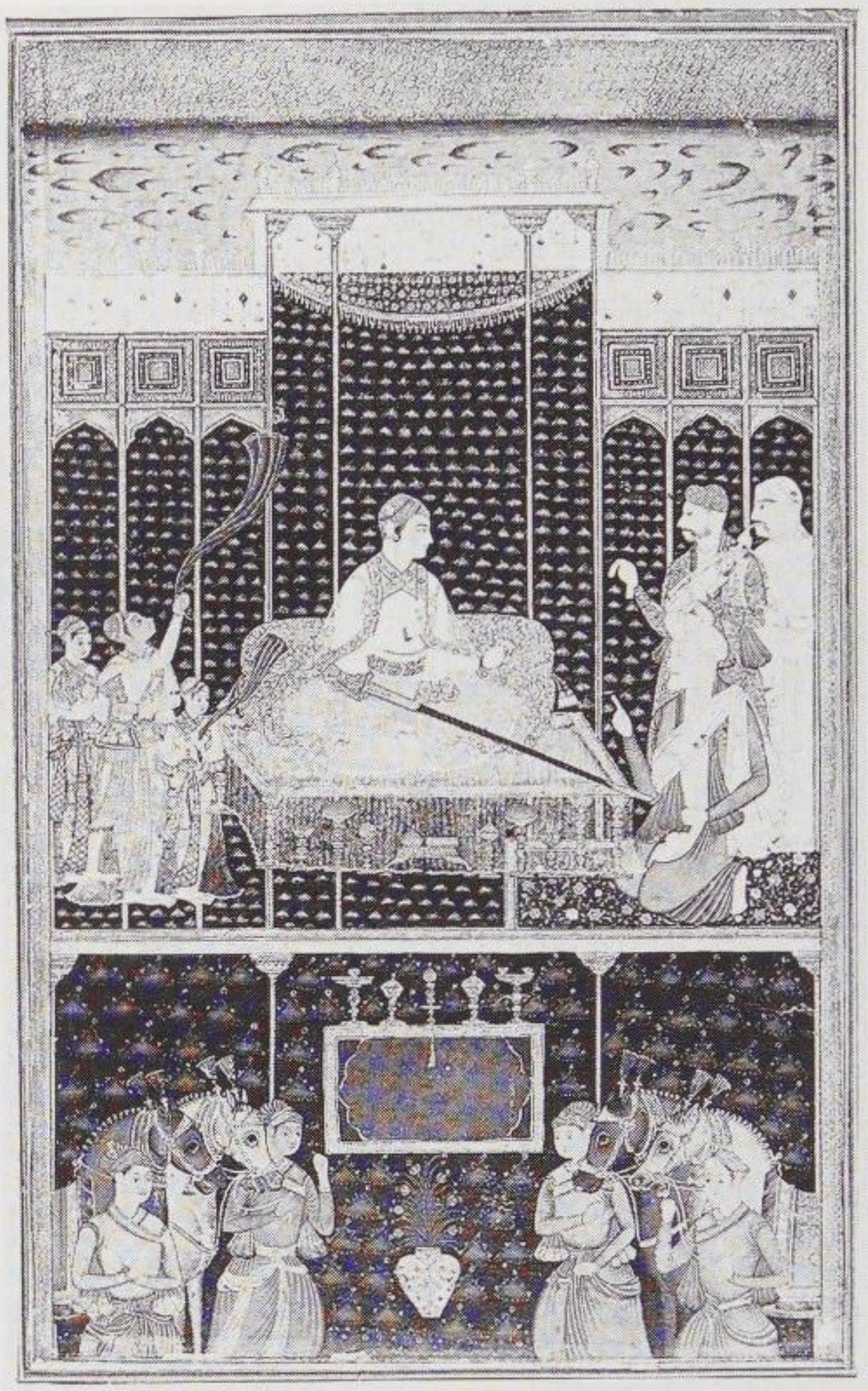
144 *Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah*, signed by Hashim, Mughal, *c.* 1620

of small portraits of Deccani notables – usually coarsely painted against a plain green background – executed at Golconda for sale to European merchants and travellers. They often bear identifying inscriptions in Dutch, Portuguese, French or – more rarely – English.

But before dealing with the new realism, let us discuss a group of five miniatures executed at the beginning of Abdullah's reign, *c.* 1630. Bound up in a *Divan* of Hafiz, in the British Museum, London, they have no illustrative connection with the text of the manuscript, nor with its other miniatures, which are in a metropolitan Persian style.

One of the paintings, fol. 26b, securely establishes a new dating for the group (Fig. 145). Originally the paintings had been dated to 1610–20, then later to 1586–90, and the royal figure identified successively as Muhammad Qutb Shah, then Muhammad Quli. More recently it has been shown that the courtier seated to the immediate left of the throne is Muhammad Ibn-i Khatun, prime minister to Abdullah. Ibn-i Khatun was elevated to the rank of prime minister and was allowed to sit by the side of Abdullah's throne in 1629, so the sultan portrayed has to be Abdullah. Since he is still beardless and very young, the painting probably dates

145 *Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah watching a dance performance*, Golconda, *c.* 1630

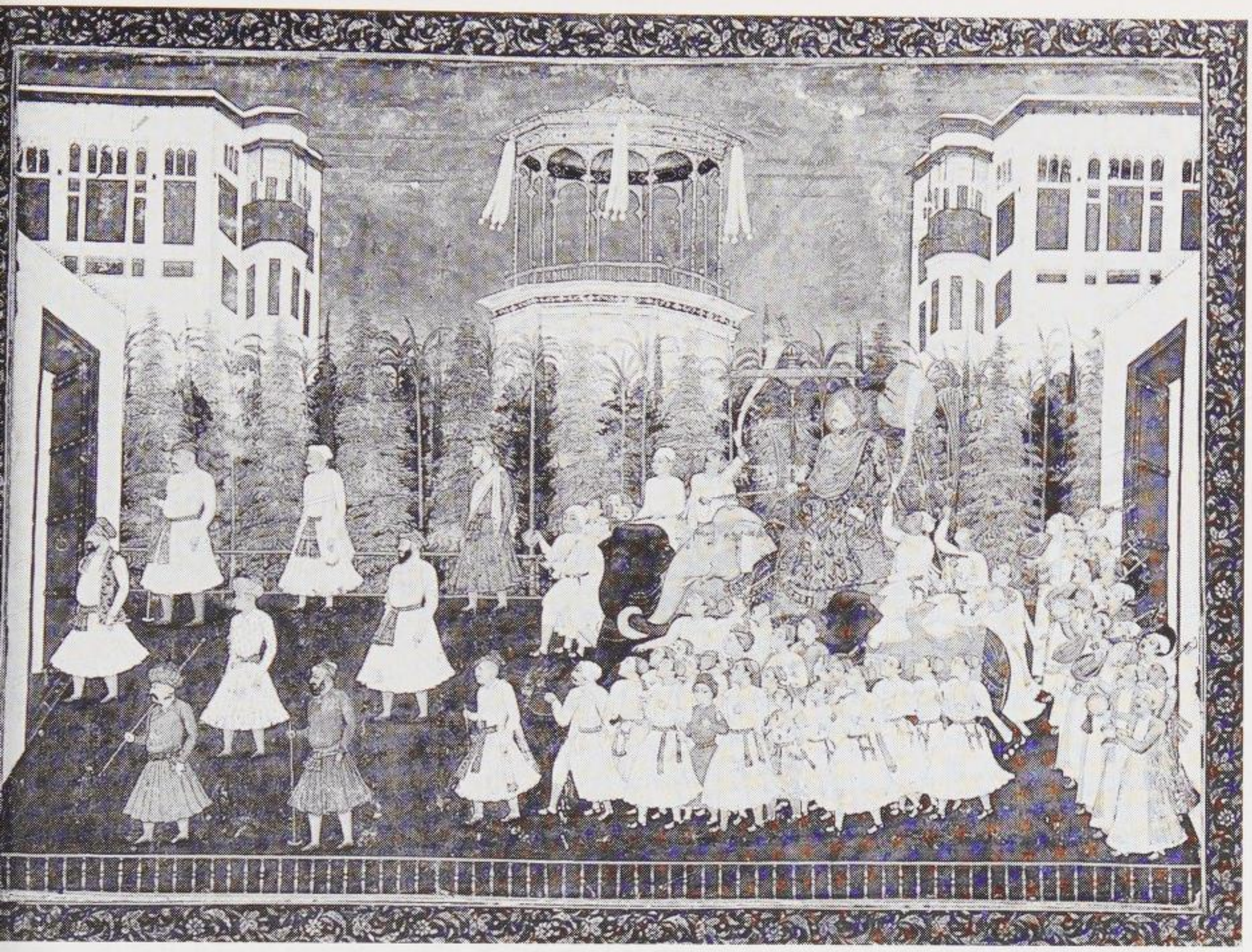


146 *Darbar of Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah as a youth*, Golconda, *c.* 1630

from *c.* 1630 when the king was 16 years old. Moreover, it bears strong stylistic similarities to Persian painting from Isfahan of the 1630s and 1640s rather than to any earlier period of Iranian art.

Now a close inspection of a darbar scene in the British Museum, presided over by an equally youthful king, reveals the same courtier, Ibn-i Khatun, sitting to the right of the royal throne, quite unmistakable with his white beard and heavy, black eyebrows (Fig. 146). He is very clearly sitting while all the other courtiers are standing. As the young sultan wears a red turban with a gold cross band, the same fashion worn by Abdullah in the painting inserted into the *Divan* of Hafiz, he must also be Abdullah at about the same age.

This darbar scene is a Deccani interpretation of Mughal group portraits of the Jahangir period. But the artist, unlike his Mughal contemporaries, hardly explores the personalities of the various nobles or their relationships to one another. Instead, he seeks to create a convincing picture of royal splendour. Gold paint – for



147 *Procession of Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah riding an elephant*, Golconda, *c.* 1650

clothing, jewellery, architecture and vessels – is applied with wild abandon. Nevertheless, a new formality, derived from Mughal example, is beginning to take hold. The repetition of flower sprigs in the background and the strong symmetry of composition establishes an air of reserve radically different from the dreamily relaxed images of earlier Deccani kings (see, for example, Colour Plate 4).

Only a handful of portraits of Abdullah have survived. One in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, depicts the king about ten years later, seated – again with considerable formality – on a garden terrace. Another, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, aside from its enchanting palette of gold, blue and green, is to all intents and purposes simply a Deccani version of the standard, single-figure Mughal portrait.

The most exciting Golconda painting to have survived – the finest example of the new realistic mode and one of the outstanding masterpieces of Indian art – is the processional portrait of Abdullah on elephant back, accompanied by a tumultuous crowd of courtiers, pages, singers and musicians, in the Saltykov-Shtshedrine State Public Library, St Petersburg (Fig. 147). With the surging composition typical of the Deccan, the artist has managed to record the bustle of a moving crowd, something the Mughal artist was usually incapable of achieving, resorting instead to

a sedentary mass of closely packed bodies with little suggestion of movement.

Strong colour adds to the excitement of the scene: the sky is deep blue: the clouds are vivid orange. The central pavilion is gold, 'studded' in Golconda fashion with white, green and red dots meant to be jewels. The sultan, also dressed in gold, rides a saffron-coloured elephant while his attendants ride blue ones. Despite the complexity of the gesticulating figures, they blend into a satisfying decorative pattern, just as the carved figures on the walls of South Indian temples harmonise with structural lines.

The realism of the portraits allows us to identity a few of the noblemen marching ahead of the sultan. The slim, round-shouldered man in the uppermost row nearest the king is Khairat Khan, an important minister from 1634 until his death in 1655. Shah Mirza precedes him. The portly figure in the middle row nearest the king is Mir Jumlah, conqueror of South India, who defected to the Mughals in 1656. This impressive painting may be dated to *c.* 1650, before the death of Khairat Khan and the departure of Mir Jumlah.

Recently – almost miraculously, considering the rarity of great Golconda paintings – another work by this artist turned up on the London art market (Fig. 148). The subject was originally identified as the wedding procession of Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah. Now, although this artist certainly worked for Abdullah, here he depicts the earlier king Muhammad Quli. The features of Muhammad Quli are well known from inscribed portraits done for European visitors to Golconda in the seventeenth century. The same sultan is famous in Deccani lore for having married a Hindu dancing girl named Bhagmati, and it is precisely this event which is represented here. The girl on his lap is definitely a Hindu, for she wears a prominent red tilak on her forehead. The attendants walking along with the royal couple have similar features, wear the same open sandals and form the same bustling throng as the royal followers in the St Petersburg procession. The delightfully observed Hindu girls bearing gilt trays and vases behind the king, and the Hindu temples, complete with stepped pyramidal towers in local South Indian style in the upper right-hand corner, underline the ecumenical nature of the romance.

A composite picture in the famous St Petersburg album in the Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, depicting an idealised Deccani sultan visiting a settlement of holy men in the deep countryside, is partly by the same Golconda painter (Fig. 149). The realism of the figures is his, and the three ladies beneath the figure of the sultan have the same sense of movement and wear the same type of sandals as the groups of followers in the previous two pictures.

A fourth painting, the likeness of a dark-skinned nobleman, in a private collection, is by the same hand (Fig. 150). The complexion and features of this figure strongly suggest that he was – like Malik Ambar – a member of Golconda's large Habshi community and probably a eunuch, since although he is not young he has neither a beard nor a moustache. He must have enjoyed a high position at court, to judge from his proud appearance, for eunuchs knew the secrets of the harem.

148 *Wedding procession of Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and Bhagmati*, Golconda, *c.* 1650

149 *A Deccani sultan visits holy men*, Golconda, *c.* 1650

Younger, he is clearly visible in the St Petersburg procession, upon the small blue elephant behind the sultan, fanning the king with a long white scarf (see Fig. 147). In both pictures he wears the same white turban and dress, and his body is full of that elegant, forward movement that this artist so convincingly conveys.

Doomed kings often seem extraordinary. We muse: 'He was so promising. If only he had had more time.' Such, I suspect, is our reaction to Abul Hasan, Abdullah's successor and the last sultan of Golconda. Political and cultural events certainly took a strange turn when he arrived unexpectedly upon the scene. He was Abdullah's son-in-law and had been living quietly in Gulbarga where he was a follower of the famous saint Shah Raju, direct descendant of Gesudaraz. When a dynastic squabble elevated Abul Hasan to the throne, Shah Raju accompanied him to Hyderabad where he exercised enormous influence at court.

The new king appointed a Telugu brahmin, Madanna, to the post of mir jumlah, or prime minister. Hindu influence increased; Madanna gave key administrative posts to other Hindus, providing the orthodox Aurangzeb with an excuse for invasion. Royal firmans were issued for the first time in bilingual form, in both Persian and Telugu. Urdu, Telugu and Arabic literature began to be patronised with greater fervour than Persian by Abul Hasan, himself an ethnic Arab. Shah Raju wrote Urdu marthiyas, or dirges, in honour of the Shia martyrs, more than a century before these melancholy compositions gained popularity at Lucknow. Mughal historians accused the Golconda court of debauchery and heresy for these and other reasons.

Deccani and European accounts are kinder to Abul Hasan, who bravely resisted Aurangzeb's eight-month siege of Golconda and who seems to have been an unusually tolerant and gentle man. Abul Hasan's sufi ideals were evident when Aurangzeb's generals captured the fort. They rushed to his apartments and were surprised when the sultan, with composure, asked them to join him for breakfast which he was about to start, explaining how man must accept good fortune and adversity with equanimity as gifts of God, for God had first made him a beggar, then a king, and then a beggar once again!

Though Deccani tradition maintains that Abul Hasan, nicknamed tana shah, or king of taste, was a great patron of the arts, few paintings can be ascribed to his court. But this lacuna may be the result of accidents of survival following the Mughal invasion. A few portraits of the king and his courtiers can be attributed to Golconda with certainty, continuing the tradition of Mughal-inspired realism which began in the preceding reign. However, a Persianate strand existed independently along side of it, adding Deccani fluidity of line, opulence and sensuality to what was basically a very formal, late seventeenth-century Isfahan idiom; some of these latter works bear the signature of Rahim Dakani.

A likeness of Abul Hasan surveying the delights of his garden is in the Edwin Binney 3rd Collection, San Diego Museum (Fig. 151). Amidst trees and flowers, wearing a gold coat and shawl, shaded by a servant holding a shield – suggesting

150 *African eunuch*, Golconda, third quarter of seventeenth century

151 *Sultan Abul Hasan walking in a garden*, Golconda, *c.* 1672–80

152 *Shah Raju on horseback*, signed by Rasul Khan, Golconda, *c.* 1672–80

that comfort was more important than warfare at this court – the sultan exudes a relaxed mood that contrasts with the earnestness of Mughal portraits. The strong sense of potential movement reminds us of the St Petersburg procession (Fig. 147), the *Wedding procession of Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and Bhagamati* (Fig. 148), *A Deccani sultan visits holy men* (Fig. 149), and the *African eunuch* (Fig. 150); all five paintings may be by the same hand.

As Abul Hasan, who was born in 1646, is still a young man here, a date during the 1670s, soon after he ascended the throne, is likely. His fur-collared, three-quarter-length coat – rather ill-suited to the heat of the Deccan – is present in all portraits of the sultan. It is exactly the same as that worn by his contemporary, Shah Suleyman I of Iran (1667–94).

More or less contemporary is the remarkable equestrian portrait of Abul Hasan's spiritual guide, Shah Raju, in a private collection (Fig. 152). In most representations of this saint in the diminutive albums made for foreign visitors to the Deccan his beard is grey. Here his beard is black, suggesting that this likeness was executed shortly after he moved to Hyderabad in 1672. Despite his realistically observed Kashmir shawl, the figure of Shah Raju is highly conventional. Not so his horse, whose taut muscles and steaming breath establish this artist as one of India's greatest animalists. The finely written white naskh inscription in the lower right-hand corner identifies the painter as Rasul Khan. Related portraits of Shah Raju and his scholarly son, Akbar Shah Husaini, signed by Rahim Khan, are in the Edward Binney 3rd Collection.

Not all Golconda painters felt comfortable working in the realistic style derived from Mughal art. Many came under the influence of the new Persian mode practised by Shaykh Abbasi and Ali Quli Jabbadar. Their work, representing a decisive break with the calligraphic subtleties of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, shows signs of familiarity with the stiffly formal aesthetic of ancient Achaemenid and Sassanian stone carving, and, curiously, with contemporary European prints, apparent in a liking for heavy shading and thin washes of colour. The strength of this Iranian strand in Indian painting – first in the Deccan and later in several North Indian schools of the early eighteenth century – suggests that Shaykh Abbasi, or artists working in a similar style, had emigrated to the Deccan. However, recent claims by Welch (1985, 1997) that Shaykh Abbasi headed a Golconda atelier with his two sons Muhammad Taqi and Ali Naqi, and that Rao Jagat Singh of Kotah hired a Golconda artist at Aurangabad who became the major talent of the Kotah school in the early eighteenth century (dubbed the Kotah master), belong to the realm of conjecture. One discrepancy among many is the fact that Jagat Singh died in 1683, before the fall of Golconda in 1687 and the dispersal of its artists.

The influence of the art of one country upon that of another is fascinating, for although motifs and techniques travel easily, the spirit of art does not. Deccani painting remained as different from Iranian painting as French art did from Italian,

153 *Sleeping maiden*, Golconda, last quarter of seventeenth century

though the artistic impact of Italy on France and of Iran on India was enormous. For example, the drawing of a sleeping maiden in the Islamisches Museum, Berlin (Fig. 153) cannot be imagined without the example of Shaykh Abbasi and related Safavid painters. Nevertheless, the Persian's dour restraint has disappeared; instead the Deccan's brilliant decorative sense and easy evocation of life's pleasure have totally taken charge. We sense the warm breezes, luxuries and languid pace of a tropical world. With delicate twists of loosened garments and an enigmatic smile, the girl is as voluptuous as the nudes of South Indian stone sculpture.

The painted scenes on the top and four sides of a small varnished papier-mâché box, probably a jewel casket, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, are more conventionally pretty (Fig. 154). The vignette on the top of the box depicting a sleeping princess dreaming of her absent lover is remarkably like the Berlin drawing. Meticulous draughtsmanship and rich colour evoke a mood of exquisite sensuality. The artist is certainly Rahim Dakani, for the work is identical in style to a lightly coloured drawing in the Chester Beatty Library which bears the inscription: 'the work of the slave Rahim Dakani'. The use of the nisba 'Deccani' suggests that although this artist or his forbears were natives of the Deccan, he may have

154 *Sleeping maiden*, top of a lacquered jewel box, attributed to Rahim Deccani, Golconda, last quarter of seventeenth century

been working elsewhere, perhaps in Iran. In fact, he may have been one of several Deccani artists active in Isfahan during the late seventeenth century, carrying back to Iran the synthesis of Indo-Persian styles achieved at Golconda.

Two varnished pen cases in the Khalili Collection, London, decorated in a slightly more Persian style than the Victoria and Albert Museum jewel box and the Dublin drawing, suggest that the artist had trained in a Deccani mode as a young man and then shifted to a more Persian manner later in life. One of the pen cases, decorated with figures dressed in Indian costume, but lacking Indian suggestion of weight and volume, is inscribed with the characteristic signature (or attribution?) of Rahim Dakani; the other is unsigned, but certainly by the same hand, and bears a date equivalent to 1706–7. The latter has a more conventionally Persian design of birds and flowers with no human figures. Rahim may have painted both pen cases in Iran, late in his career, decades after the Victoria and Albert Museum box. His work is significant for the subsequent development of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Iranian art, since Zand and Qajar painting closely follow the path he forged.

Much wilder, and therefore more Deccani, are two painted and varnished leather book covers in the Sir Howard Hodgkin Collection, London, one of which is reproduced here (Fig. 155). They lack the restraint of Rahim Dakani and of Safavid

155 Lacquered book cover, Golconda or Hyderabad, *c.* 1700

art in general, and we are treated instead to remarkable designs of trees of life against a gold background, flanked by massive, flower-filled vases. Huge birds roost in the trees and outsized insects search for nectar, recalling Golconda painted cottons. The obsessive detail, the abundance of gold and the typically Indian

suggestion of mass create a delirious opulence characteristic of the best Deccani design. Although the book covers may date from after 1700, their style is essentially Golconda fertilised by Iran.

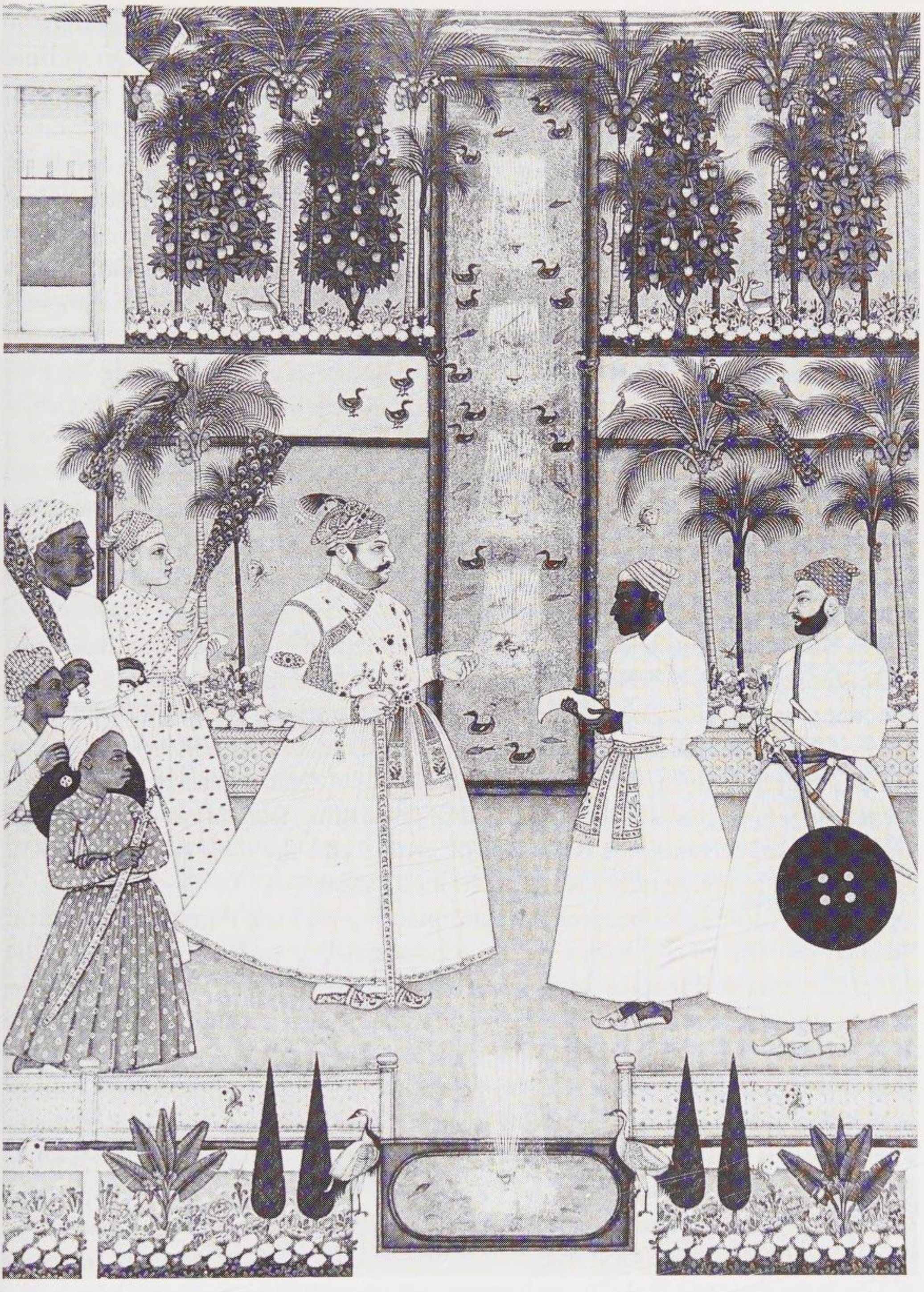
MUGHAL HEGEMONY

Aurangzeb's conquest of Bijapur and Golconda was not as inimical to the arts as is generally assumed. He was an orthodox Muslim, but his only overtly hostile act in regard to art was to command all figural murals to be erased in the Adil Shahi palace in Bijapur. Aurangzeb was far too busy with warfare during the next two decades to exert any long-lasting effect on art. He halted for only four months at Hyderabad and was soon off in pursuit of the Marathas whom he now perceived as the chief obstacle to total conquest of the Deccan.

The absence of the emperor from Hyderabad, locked in endless struggle with the Marathas in the western Deccan, unleashed centrifugal forces which provided opportunities both for the officers who had accompanied him into the Deccan and for the local nobility to amass considerable wealth and power. Many of these figures were able to transform their jagirs, or estates, into small hereditary fiefs and to begin to act as important patrons. A new rage for portraiture developed between the fall of Golconda (1687) and the emergence of the Hyderabad kingdom (1724) and this enhanced the prestige of these new princelings. Although this period has largely been ignored from an artistic point of view, so many extraordinary paintings have come to light that it can now be seen as one of the most exciting phases of Indian portraiture, all the more surprising as courts and ateliers were often small and remote, and times were unsettled.

Hyderabad remained the greatest centre of the arts, for its Mughal governors were both cultured and semi-independent. After the fall of the city to the Mughals, three powerful governors ruled: Jan Sipar Khan (1688–1700), his son Rustam Dil Khan (1700–13) and Mubariz Khan (1713–24). Beneath them were the faujdars, or commanders, in charge of the thirteen great forts of the former Qutb Shahi territories. Potential patrons of painting then – even counting just Mughal officers – were plentiful. The shift in patronage from great urban rulers to lesser nobles in smaller centres accelerated during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, occurring not only in the Deccan but in North India as well. This phenomenon reflected the breakdown of the central authority which great Islamic princes had imposed upon much of India during the Sultanate and Mughal periods. The era of the great Mughals and the fabulously rich sultans of the Deccan had now definitely passed from reality to legend.

A new style of painting arose which combined the comparative realism of the north with Deccani fantasy and extravagance. The subjects of portraiture are often given the stern profile of Mughal princes full of 'imperial purpose', but are placed in such a dream world of exotic shapes and colours that we feel their seriousness is



156 *Allah-wirdi Khan receiving a petition*, Hyderabad, early eighteenth century

but a pose. And of course the setting, because of its contrast to the sitter, absolutely steals the show!

Just such an image is the young prince sniffing a rose, in the National Museum, New Delhi (see Colour Plate 8). His seemingly impassive profile could be interpreted either as high seriousness, or as intense reverie. Standing before a yellow-green meadow, he wears a cream and purple coat with a red and gold turban. Giant butterflies sip nectar from huge irises in the garden which mirror the more realistic irises of the prince's coat. The painting is as poetic as the best Bijapur painting of a century before, and as a friend once aptly commented: 'It is not the depiction of a man but the representation of the perfume of a garden.'

Another early eighteenth-century artist – almost certainly working at Hyderabad, for we can trace his influence upon later Hyderabad painting – carries precision of line and Mughal sobriety to Deccani extremes. In his portrait of a Mughal nobleman receiving a petition, symmetry and balance, no longer tempered by Mughal realism, become ends in themselves, as in the work of great modern abstract painters (Fig. 156). Colours are intense, the vegetation lush and the figures are a brilliant assortment of physical types, races and personalities, including black and white eunuchs.

The inscription on the verso identifies the nobleman as Mansabdar Allah-wirdi Khan. A mansabdar, or officer, of that name served Aurangzeb during the Deccani conquest: he was an accomplished poet, Persian in origin, the author of a well-known *Divan*. No information is given about the artist's identity. Appropriately, this painter's reaction to nature resembles that of a Persian poet of the Mughal period: extremely formal, but able to make astounding feats of observation. The multi-coloured servants, the birds, the butterflies and the deer are all in typical poses, but no less pungently alive for their idealisation.

There are close links between Deccani painting and the Rajasthani school of Bikaner, but the precise nature of the relationship has never been satisfactorily explored. Several maharajas of Bikaner served the Mughals as generals in the Deccan throughout the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, spending large parts of their reigns there. Anup Singh (1674–98) resided permanently in the Deccan. A number of superb Deccani paintings and objects in the Palace Collection, Bikaner, bear inscriptions stating that they were acquired either by Rai Singh, when he was a Mughal governor at Burhanpur (1607–11), or by Anup Singh while governor of Adoni (1689–98). The presence of Deccani pictures, and perhaps Deccani painters – probably brought back to Rajasthan by returning maharajas – may have influenced the local style.

The artist responsible for the unfinished portrait of Nawab Salabat Khan, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (I.S.57–1949), may have also worked for Anup Singh in the Deccan. Lavish in scale and in mood, this picture is a delightful essay in white, light green, pink and gold. The nawab's colossal stature, daintily encased in transparent muslin and surrounded by diminutive ladies, continues a long tradition

of massively proportioned Deccani royal figures, reminiscent of the sixteenth-century representations of the sultan of Ahmadnagar (see Colour Plate 2 and Fig. 110). The delicate palette, the daintily drawn courtesans with long eyes and the distinctive foliage composed of tiny dabs of bright colour arranged in circles are also present in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Bikaner paintings. The inscription on the reverse, giving the nawab's name not in Persian, as we would have expected, but in devanagari script, suggests that this picture was painted for a Rajput patron. The illustrations of the *Nal Daman*, dated 1698, in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, are by the same hand. The story is a seventeenth-century Urdu version of the romance of Nala and Damayanti, an episode from the great Hindu epic, the *Mahabharata*, implying that this manuscript, like the portrait, was executed for a Hindu patron, possibly the maharaja of Bikaner.

A large group of very small paintings, about 19 by 8 centimetres, now widely dispersed, was probably executed in the Hyderabad region during the first few decades of the eighteenth century. The text is said to be a history of the Qutb Shah dynasty, but a page in the Rietberg Museum, Zurich, depicting a Hindu hero beheading a demon by means of a chakra, the discus sacred to the god Vishnu, implies that the text is mythological rather than historical. Perhaps these numerous paintings – in Paris, Zurich, New Delhi and Peshawar – were the standardised production of a Deccani workshop, turning out illustrations of both Hindu and Muslim subjects.

The same artists were responsible for a grander project, a ragamala of impressive dimensions, only five pages of which have survived, four in the Nelson Gallery, Kansas City, and one in a private collection, *Hindola raga* (Fig. 157). This picture is the visual representation of a particular raga, or mode of Indian music, intended to be sung in the morning and related to Spring. Hindola means swing; here the young hero – resembling a local Deccani raja – sits on a swing, gently serenaded by female musicians. Yellow stains on the terrace are all that remain from the impassioned rites of Holi, the Spring festival when celebrants douse each other with coloured water. Despite the recent frenzy, the mood is formal, established by cool colours, precise draughtsmanship and extreme symmetry of detail. What really grip our attention are the razor-sharp diagonals which lead us towards the mysterious castle on the hill, a welcome relief from the rigidity of the terrace world. It has been suggested that the provenance of this set is Bidar; if so, the impressive structure on the cliff, so conspicuous in each miniature, may well be the vast Bidar fort.

The brave warrior with his army on the march was a common subject for Mughal painters and was adopted by Deccani artists as well, chiefly after the Mughal conquest. The *Prince galloping across a rocky plain*, in a private collection, is the masterpiece of this genre (see Colour Plate 9). The overall nervous energy of the scene and the porcelain-like fragility of the powder-blue horse charm us with their elegant inappropriateness. This Deccani painter, more accustomed to representing a private world of sentiment than a public world of pomp and action, transforms

157 *Hindola raga*, Bidar (?), early eighteenth century

the dusty plain into a garden for our delectation, and the prince's army becomes but a distant mirage.

The young man's features and costume resemble those of Prince Azam Shah, Aurangzeb's favourite son and heir apparent for many years, who, however, did not

158 *Atachin Beg Bahadur Qalmaq out hawking*, Deccan or Kishangarh, early eighteenth century

manage to succeed his father upon the throne. Azam Shah was active in the Deccani campaign and presented Abul Hasan, the last sultan of Golconda, to the emperor after the capture of the fort. This painter may have begun his career working for Abul Hasan and later switched over to the Mughals. Azam Shah was probably a

generous patron of the arts, for several Deccani portraits of him survive, some connected with the surrender of Golconda fort. A large drawing of him entering Ahmadabad in Gujarat, where he was made governor in 1701, is in the Hodgkin Collection.

Because of the migration of Deccani painters to North India and the presence of Mughal and Rajput noblemen in the Deccan, it is often difficult to differentiate between Deccani and Rajput schools – notably, as we have seen, the school of Bikaner. We have the same problems with Kishangarh.

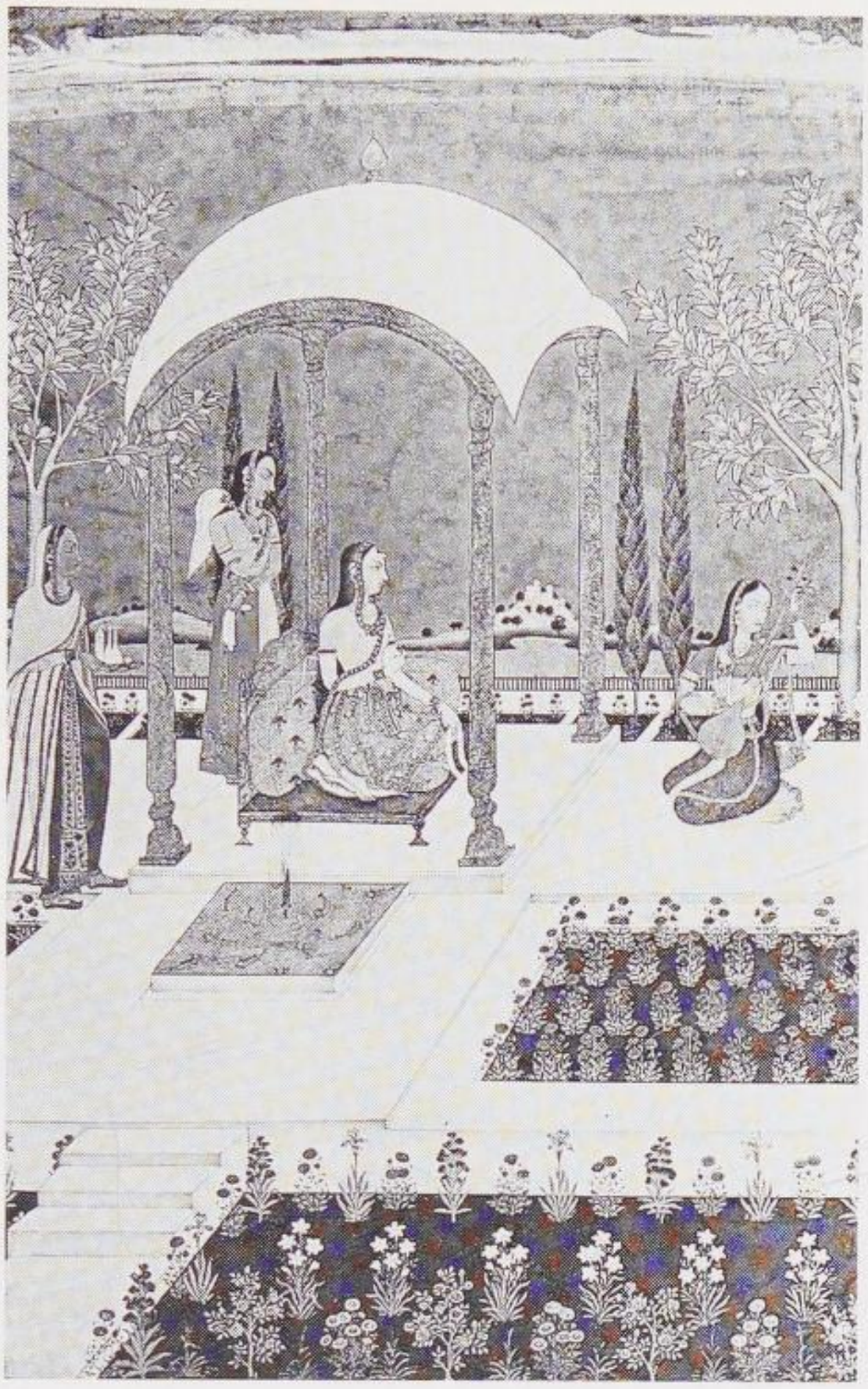
The large depiction of a Turkman warrior out hakwing with attendants, in the British Museum, may be by a Deccani artist in the early years of the eighteenth century (Fig. 158). The colours of the background are romantically dark, dramatically setting off the jewel-like tints – green, violet and yellow – of the courtiers' costumes. The fantasy provided by the horse's extravagantly waved mane, the dark complexions of the attendants and the overall sense of opulence immediately recall great Deccani portraits of a century earlier. We know the identity of the warrior through a second version of this picture, mirror reversed, in the Jehangir Collection, Bombay. It bears a Persian inscription identifying him as Atachin Beg Bahadur Qalmaq, a likely enough Turkic name for a Deccani officer of Central Asian origin, but rather unlikely for an officer at a Hindu Rajput court.

Nevertheless, this likeness resembles early eighteenth-century Kishangarh work. The horse's long neck, bony muzzle and even his outlandishly curled mane occur in the paintings of the artist Dal Chand who worked at Delhi and Kishangarh. An unpublished drawing in the Kanoria Collection, Patna, definitely executed at Kishangarh, is a copy of *Atachin Beg Bahadur Qalmaq*. All these paintings suggest either that Deccani artists found patronage at Kishangarh, where the British Museum portrait may have been painted, or that so many Deccani paintings were acquired by the royal Kishangarh collection that they profoundly influenced the course of this school throughout the eighteenth century. We must remember as well that the famous elongated 'Kishangarh eye' was seen first in Bijapur portraits of the reign of Ali Adil Shah II, nearly a century before its appearance in Rajasthan.

HYDERABAD AND KURNOOL

The Asaf Jahis at Hyderabad, known in later times as the Nizams, preserved the ancient Persianate culture of the Deccan until well into the twentieth century, and, after the fall of Delhi and Lucknow to British forces in the mid-nineteenth century, welcomed northerners of talent. This meant that the conservative court of Hyderabad became the last great bastion of semi-independent Islamic power and patronage in India. Marriage ties with Middle Eastern courts were encouraged, especially with the Ottomans of Istanbul, the highest-ranking dynasty of the Muslim world.

After Nizam al-Mulk's death in 1748 power struggles developed between the



159 *Lady listening to a musician*, an unidentified ragini, Hyderabad, third quarter of eighteenth century

Nizams and the English, French and Marathas which resulted in political and economic instability for many decades. These troubled times transformed Deccani painting. In earlier centuries the powerful princes of the great Muslim states, inspiring awe and respect, provided the natural subject matter of art. As we have seen, brilliant portraits of rulers, courtiers and dervishes resulted. Yet this great period of portraiture seems to have been a short-lived aberration in the long history of Indian painting. Traditionally, Indian artists were more accustomed to representing deities than real people – as few portraits have survived from before the sixteenth century – using the nude human body, especially the female form, as a model for the gods.

With the breakdown of Islamic authority, eighteenth-century Deccani artists rediscover the female body, creating an idealised world of princesses and courtesans (Fig. 159). The feminine principle re-emerges, considerably Islamicised of course, reaffirming the continuity of Indian culture. Male portraiture also continues, but it seldom really moves us, the sitters resembling cardboard cut-outs. In the likeness of

Nawab Saif al-Mulk selecting jewels (Fig. 160), for example, we relish fine details and enchanting colours but the man behind the façade has vanished, so different from the awesome representations of the sultan of Ahmadnagar painted two centuries earlier (see Colour Plate 2 and Fig. 110). And even in this rediscovered world of feminine charm, there is often a tendency towards effects of mere prettiness, as in eighteenth-century French painting.

We should not be overly critical however. Some great paintings were produced, especially at provincial Deccan centres where artists often worked with greater originality than those at Hyderabad, and at the courts of Maratha rulers, who, after decades of guerilla warfare against the Mughals, were now settling down in the cities of the western Deccan. Moreover, India began to be bombarded by European culture, through colonisation of her coasts, to which she was not yet able to adapt. The eighteenth century should not be seen as totally decadent and sterile. If there were only a few brilliant kings there were many brilliant writers who seemed to thrive on misfortune and who created a new golden age of Urdu and Persian poetry. And although eighteenth-century Deccani art usually lacks the power of earlier work, it achieves a gentler mood in a minor key.

The finest example of Hyderabad painting is the complete ragamala of thirty-six paintings in the India Office Library, called the Johnson Ragamala, probably from the third quarter of the eighteenth century (Fig. 159). These pages conjure up a magic world through polished, enamel-like surfaces and supremely elegant figures; rarely has the exotic imagery of Persian and Indian poetry attained such rich visual interpretation. These images are appropriate, yes, but they still represent an art in decline, for the figures are not only conventional but repetitive. Looking at a few pages is enchanting, but viewing them all is tedious.

The ragamala takes its name from its eighteenth-century owner, Richard Johnson, British resident at Hyderabad (1784–5). Johnson had lived in Calcutta, where his interest in Indian culture brought him into contact with Warren Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey, both patrons of Indian art. Johnson had also been posted to Lucknow for two years where he was friendly with Antoine Polier, who owned outstanding Indian miniatures, and the Frenchman Claude Martin. Johnson, with his interest in Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit literature, was fascinated by the correlation between Indian painting and music. This ragamala must have especially appealed to him because of its evocation of poetical symbolism and musical modes.

Probably dating from a few decades later is the depiction of Nawab Saif al-Mulk, son of Azim ul-Umara, prime minister of Asaf Jah II, selecting jewels brought to him by a Hindu servant (Fig. 160). Real pieces of glistening blue-green beetle wing pasted onto the surface of the picture represent the nawab's emerald jewellery, a technique common in Pahari and Deccani painting, but found almost nowhere else in India. Brilliant tones of green, gold and mauve and rigidly precise shapes give the effect of a magnificent object set with stones rather than the painterly record of a real event. Despite the fact that we still enjoy these opulent little images, a deadly

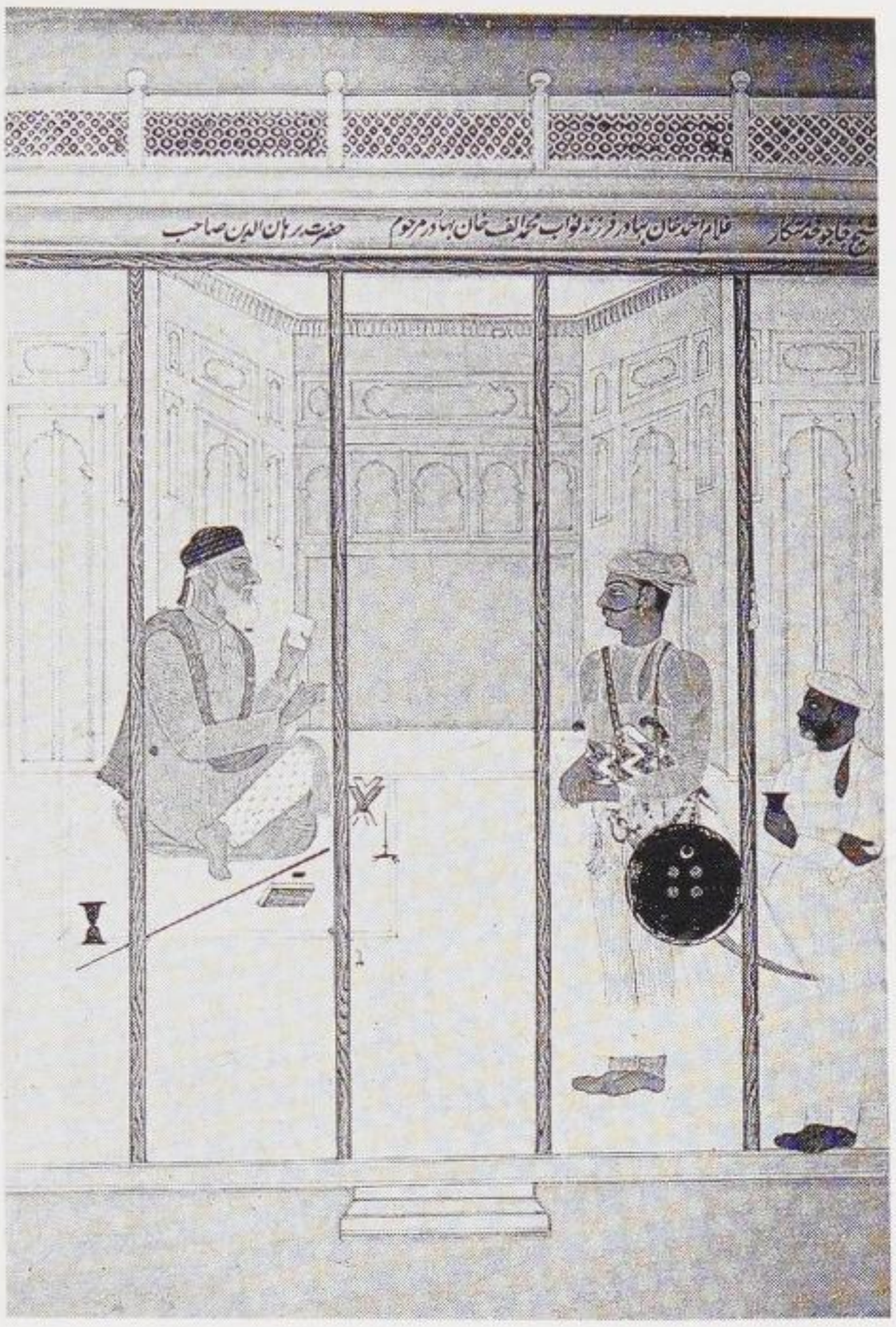
160 *Nawab Saif al-Mulk selecting jewels*, attributed to Venkatachellam, Hyderabad, *c.* 1795

161 *Nawab Sikandar Jah sniffing a mango*, Hyderabad, *c.* 1775

hardness has set in. Our feeling is of a fabulously rich material culture that is captive to its past, with little scope for originality.

A few surviving sketches prove that some artists could draw refreshingly from life should they be given the unlikely task of doing so. A small drawing of prince Sikandar Jah, who later became Asaf Jah III, in the Latifi Collection, Bombay, is a rare depiction of a moment in a child's life (Fig. 161). He sits on the floor gloating over his good luck, for he holds not one but two delicious mangoes, hardly knowing which one to eat first, while we feast our eyes upon his doll-like body and elegant gestures. As he was born in 1768 and appears to be about 6 or 7 in the drawing, we date the work to *c.* 1775.

A second rapid sketch, this time with gold and pigment on an unpainted background, in the Government Museum, Hyderabad, records a mother, or servant girl, trying to cajole a little boy out of a peevish mood. While he tries to slap



162 *Nawab Ghulam Ahmad Khan visiting Shaykh Burhanuddin Sahib,* Kurnool, *c.* 1815–23

her, she whispers to him, perhaps promising some halva if only he will behave. He wears the muslin coat of the Deccan and a pointed cap very similar to that worn by Sikandar Jah, suggesting that he too is a spoilt young prince.

Painting at some provincial courts south of Hyderabad retained vitality and originality throughout the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth, at a time when stereotypes had become the rule at the capital. Muslim officers in Aurangzeb's service, Pathan (Afghan) in origin, established themselves at lesser centres such as Kurnool and Cuddapah which later became independent states paying tribute to the nizams. Hindu rajas ruled at Gadwal and Wanparthy. Kurnool, picturesquely situated on the south bank of the Tungabhadra, was by far the largest of these subordinate states and had the most important school of painting. Surviving work consists entirely of portraits of the nawabs smoking huqqas, listening to singers and, most frequently of all, paying visits to saints, suggesting that the area was an important centre of Muslim piety.

In a miniature in the National Museum, New Delhi, Ghulam Ahmad Khan, brother of the ruling nawab, Munawwar Khan (1815–23), stands during his visit to the saint Burhanuddin Sahib (Fig. 162). The saint's purity is conveyed by the

163 *A disfigured begum enjoys her garden*, Kurnool, *c.* 1780

austere whiteness of his cell which, however, has the scale and elaborate decoration of a palace chamber. And although the figures are rigidly drawn, there is considerable strength in the composition and the architectural setting.

The finest Kurnool work to have come to light – if, indeed, it is from Kurnool – is the remarkable study of the *Disfigured begum*, in a private collection (Fig. 163). Not only is the begum dark-skinned, a feature generally thought unattractive in India, but she has suffered a disfiguring illness, either smallpox or perhaps a stroke, for her mouth is skewed up on her right side and she has lost an eye. We wonder what agony she has been through. This image is unique in Indian miniature painting where idealisation is the norm and such glimpses of harsh reality are kept safely at a distance through heavy satire or caricature. With subtlety rather than slapstick, the artist contrasts his subject's horrible face with the beauty with which she surrounds herself. What wonderful objects she owns and uses! And what a garden! In keeping with Deccani tradition, it is a garden of dreams where waters plash and giant dragonflies suck nectar from huge flowers.

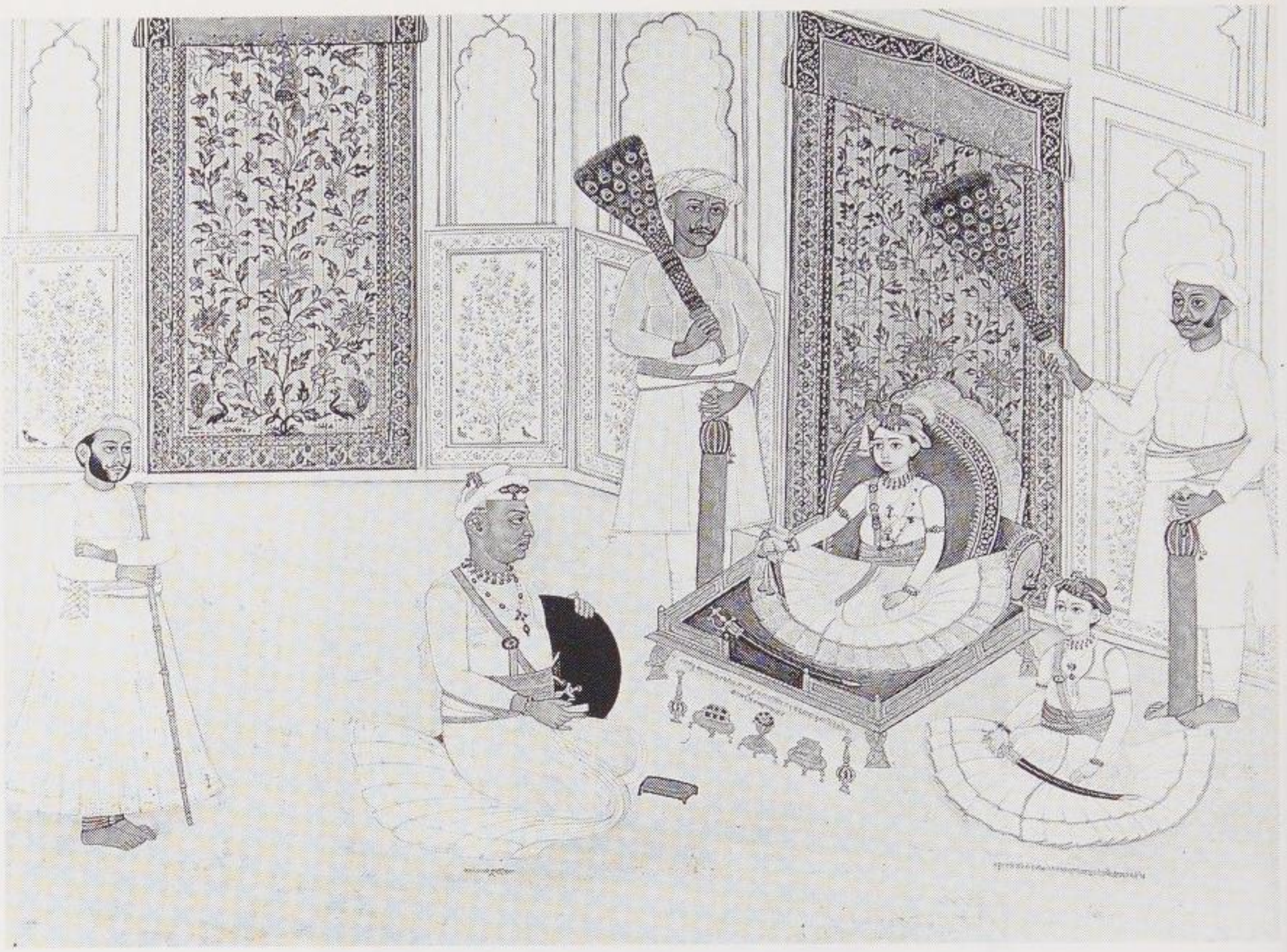
The decorative detail of this innovative picture suggests Kurnool, or perhaps a Hyderabad artist working there who was able to shed the dreary artistic formulae of the capital. The arabesque of the carpet, as well as the red velvet cushion upon

164 *Sadashiv Rao, called the Bhao Sahib*, Maratha, *c.* 1750–60

which the begum reclines, are varnished to give sheen when turned in the light. Kurnool, like Kashmir, was actually a centre for the manufacture of lacquerware objects. Papier-mâché fans, trays and boxes were decorated in low relief with ornament identical to the detail in this picture, often in similar tones of green and yellow. Miniature painters at Kurnool were probably responsible for the main figures and overall compositions, while artisans from the lacquer industry meticulously filled in the ornament.

PUNE AND SATARA

Even before the British protectorate of 1800, the Nizams were not in total control of the Deccan. The Hindu Marathas possessed large tracts of the northern, western and southern Deccan. They were organised in a loose confederacy of semi-independent chiefs, centred at Satara, Kolhapur and Pune under the nominal control of the chhatrapati, or emperor, a descendant of Shivaji. Other chiefs who had been sent out to collect tribute from the provinces of the disintegrating Mughal empire established kingdoms at Dhar, Indore, Gwalior and Baroda, all outside of the Deccan proper.



165 *Shahoor Maharaj Chhatrapati*, Maratha, probably Satara, *c.* 1847

Little is known of Maratha painting. A few superb miniatures have come to light, but it is still impossible to reconstruct the extent or the chronology of any school. Probably each centre of Maratha power had its own regional style of portraiture; outside the Deccan the maharajas of Gwalior and Baroda must have also patronised miniature painting which had some links with Deccani styles because of the ruling families' dynastic ties to Maharashtra.

One of the most moving Deccani images of the eighteenth century is the inscribed portrait of the young Maratha general Sadashiv Rao, called the Bhao Sahib, in the Raja Dinkar Kelkar Museum, Pune (Fig. 164). Sadashiv Rao had achieved brilliant victories over the Nizam in the 1750s, but was tragically killed at the battle of Panipat in 1761. Here he is portrayed as charismatic and detached as a Hindu god, with diminutive attendants ministering to his every need: one presents a document, another announces the victor's presence with a huge lacquered fan in the shape of a great lotus leaf, while a third fans him with a fly whisk. The same atmosphere of proud silence characterises contemporary Mandi portraits from the Punjab Hills, hinting at yet another unexplained connection between the Deccani and Pahari schools.

Maratha power was firm but ephemeral. The wealth which passed to Maratha courts soon corrupted these sturdy warrior chiefs who had boasted of cutting down

the withered tree of Mughal rule. They also withered, and at an alarming pace. For decades the Maratha emperor's hereditary prime minister, the peshwa, residing at Pune, had wielded real power while his master survived as a figurehead. In 1818 the British abolished the peshwa's office and incorporated his lands into the Bombay Presidency.

Now the British continued the fiction for several more decades. They reinstated the Maratha emperor on the throne of Satara and, when he proved difficult, replaced him with his adopted son, Shahoor Maharaj Chhatrapati. A painting of this child-king's court portrays the descendants of fierce Maratha warriors as weightless puppets, the strings now being pulled from distant London (Fig. 165). The figures look well-meaning, but the court is a mere stage set. The boy had ruled for only a year when the British annexed Satara in 1848.

CHAPTER 7

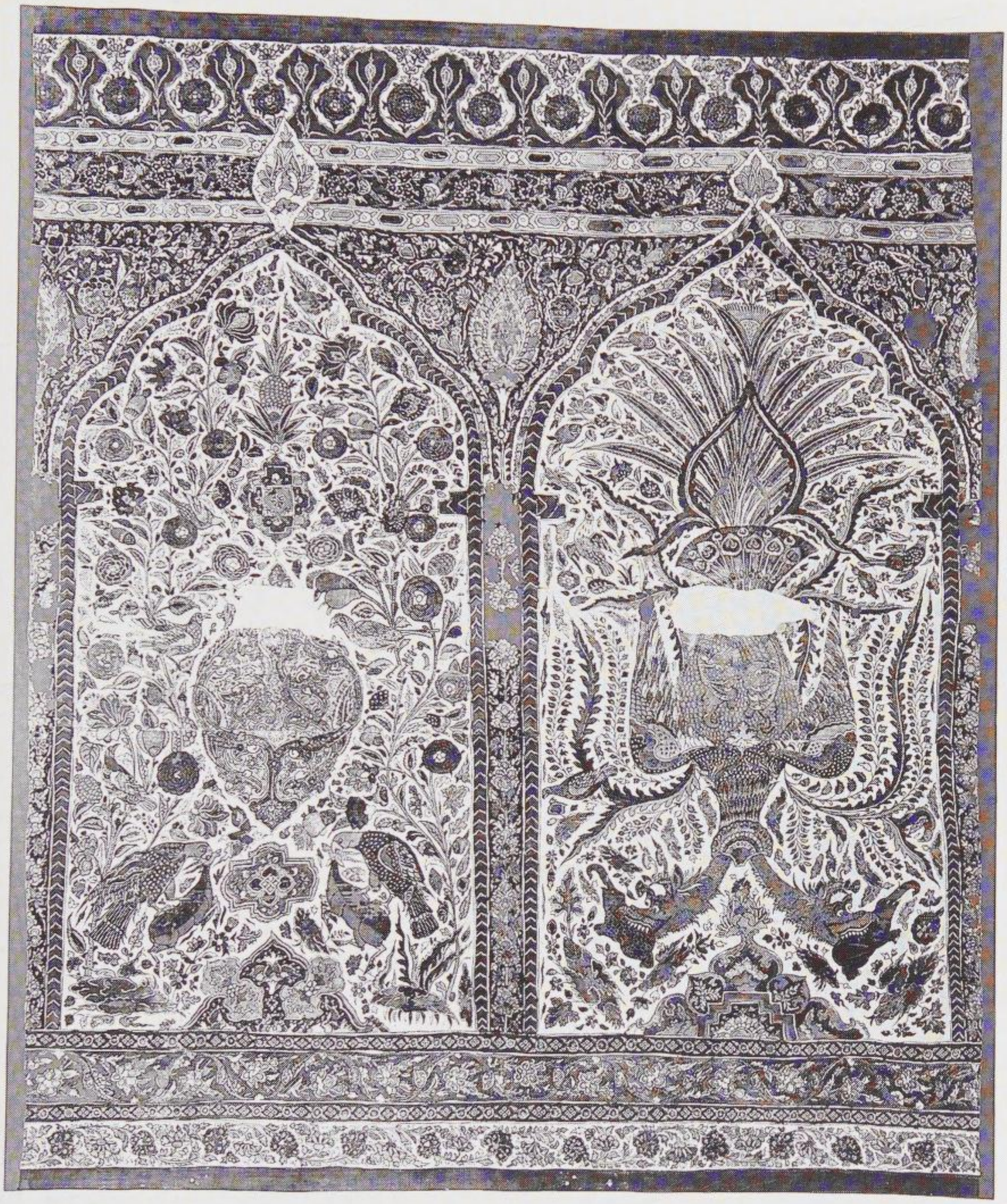
TEXTILES, METALWORK AND STONE OBJECTS

PAINTED COTTONS

Amongst the Asian products which most stirred the admiration and envy of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were Chinese porcelains and Indian painted cottons commonly called 'chintzes' in English-speaking countries. Compared with European linens and woollens, Indian painted and dyed cottons seemed almost miraculous: they were light and comfortable, they could be easily washed and – most surprisingly – their rich colours were fast. The complicated and time-consuming technology involved in the manufacture of these textiles was the result of centuries, perhaps millennia, of secret knowledge gradually amassed, refined and passed on from father to son. Cotton on its own will not accept permanent dyeing; what Indian craftsmen had discovered was the use of mordants (metallic salts which combine with various dyes and permit them to bond with cotton fibres) in conjunction with resists (materials used to prevent colouring particular areas of the cloth), the process permitting lively detailed patterning and brilliant colours.

Several factors suggest that the best painted cottons were produced on the Bay of Bengal (Coromandel) coast of the kingdom of Golconda. First, the vibrant tone of red most prized in Europe was produced by the root of the chay plant when grown in the calcium-rich soil of the Krishna river delta. Second, craftsmen on this coast tended to use a pen and brush to apply colour, giving a much freer design than could be achieved with blocks, which were more commonly used in western India. Thirdly, the human figures resemble – and are occasionally identical to – known Golconda paintings on paper, and certain motifs are present in other classes of Deccani decorative arts. Furthermore, the French traveller François Bernier writes in 1665 that the tent of Aurangzeb was 'lined with painted chittes [chintzes] of that fine workmanship of Masulipatam [Golconda's major seaport], which represent a hundred different sorts of flowers'.

An especially exciting painted cotton was recently acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Fig. 166). It is a double-niched hanging, originally either part of a tent wall, or a qanat, a movable textile screen used to form room-like enclosures inside or outside palaces. The hanging was once in the toshkhana (store) of the maharajas of Amber in Rajasthan. On the left-hand panel a medallion of furiously interlocking, snake-like palmettes occupies centre stage with giant falcons seizing tiny antelopes. On the right-hand panel, a two-headed mythical bird or yali



166 Painted cotton, double-niched hanging (qanat), from the toshkhana of the Maharaja of Amber, Golconda, mid-seventeenth century

holds tiny elephants in its claws and devours others, part of the same tradition which produced lion-shaped incense burners and animal friezes on the walls of Golconda fort (see Figs. 82 and 174). The designs are drawn with that surging energy typical of the Deccan, particularly at Golconda, be it glazed tilework, miniature paintings, book illumination or metalwork.

167 Detail of painted cotton floor spread, from the toshkhana of the Maharaja of Amber, Golconda, first half of seventeenth century

168 Fragment from a painted cotton floor spread, Deccan, seventeenth century

A painted cotton fragment in the AEDTA Collection, Paris, represents a girl dressed in red, feeding a beautifully formed mango to a green parrot which has perched on her shoulder (see Colour Plate 10). She wears Deccani garments with many strands of pearl chokers and abundant jewellery. Her facial type, costume and proximity to a bird are reminiscent of the Dublin *Yogini* (see Fig. 129); probably both are references to a character from local folklore. The dignity of the figure and the restraint of the design differ significantly from other early seventeenth-century painted cottons and suggest a different workshop.

More typical are the superb summer floor spread in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 167), and a wall hanging in the Calico Museum, Ahmedabad. These textiles represent the epitome of the dyer's art in terms of technical sophistication

and originality of design, and are probably amongst the earliest surviving pieces. In the London example, small figures of hunters, animals and lovers move as if in an enchanted forest, dwarfed by wild extravagant plants. The back of this floor spread bears the owner's seal of Mirza Raja Jai Singh of Amber (1621–67) and inventory dates of the Amber palace ranging between 1639 and 1650.

A fragmentary summer floor spread in the Philadelphia Museum of Art is made up of two different painted cottons, one making the field, the other forming the border on three sides. It bears a devanagari inscription on the reverse stating that it was in the possession of a Muslim shrine and the inventory date 1690. Two small textile fragments, one from the field and one from the border, are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, one of which is reproduced here (Fig. 168). Although the design of both is a repeat floral pattern, there is enough variation to prove it was drawn freehand with a pen and brush, not stamped. The flowers show the vivacity of Deccani forms beginning to be effected by Mughal formality during the reign of Shah Jahan.

A qanat panel in the Khalili Collection, London, is the ultimate marriage of Deccani vigour with Mughal restraint (see Colour Plate 11). A free depiction of a giant poppy plant beneath a cusped arch, the red is particularly rich and glowing, the drawing lively and the composition extremely bold. The red Chinese clouds and plant tendrils have the delicacy of coral branches. The detailing in the leaves and flower petals is so infinitely fine – produced by the subtle use of resists – that it resembles the effect of the most masterful marbling on paper, a Deccani craft (see Fig. 136). This qanat is closely related to a panel in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, of identical quality and similar size, which – like so many other great painted cottons – came from the Amber Palace Collection.

METALWORK

Surprisingly, Deccani metalwork is more plentiful and better known than that from any other region of India. The cause of such relative abundance – in fact, the quantity is much smaller than from comparable periods of European history – was the survival of the kingdom of Hyderabad and the Islamic way of life it protected until well into the twentieth century. Cocooned by a traditional environment, Deccani Muslims – and Hindus – tended to retain vessels and paraphernalia which they had inherited from their forbears. Even if they did not choose to use such old-fashioned items, they were less influenced by foreign fashions and, therefore, less likely than their co-religionists in British India to have metal objects melted down. Thus in a country with little taste for preserving or collecting artefacts of the past, a significant number of weapons and vessels passed unscathed into present-day collections and into art historical awareness.

The Deccan produced marvellously designed daggers and swords, their hilts

169 Steel dagger with gilt copper hilt, Golconda, *c.* 1600

170 Detail of portrait of Sultan Ali Adil Shah I, Bijapur, *c.* 1605

composed of entwined animal shapes, usually lions, elephants, simurghs and dragons locked in furious combat. Two such daggers survive, one in the David Collection, Copenhagen, the other formerly belonging to Howard Ricketts, London. There are also two swords in the British Museum, London, and in the Government Museum, Bikaner, bearing inscriptions mentioning 'Adoni', the Adil Shahi fortress stormed by the Mughals in 1689.

Recently, a third dagger, now in the David Collection, Copenhagen, the finest of the group, turned up on the London art market (Fig. 169). Its gilt copper hilt is a seething mass of fantastic animals, a fusion of the South Indian sculptural tradition with the Islamic arabesque, reminiscent of early Golconda painting. Disparate elements are brilliantly reconciled. The quilon is formed of two grotesque masks, Italian in origin but transformed by Deccani taste, and two birds, their tails giving rise to an elegant grip set with rubies. The grip is composed of a lion grasping a tiny elephant on one side, and a simurgh and a dragon biting and snarling at each other on the other. Friezes on the walls of Golconda fort and a series of bronze incense burners use similar lions and elephants (see Figs. 82 and 174). The extraordinary elegance of these motifs coupled with their tremendous animal vitality makes this

171 Steel vambrace (arm guard) overlaid with gold, Deccan, mid-seventeenth century

dagger one of the greatest masterpieces of Indo-Islamic design. Sultan Ali Adil Shah I of Bijapur actually wears a similarly conceived dagger in a portrait now in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington (Fig. 170).

The Islamic component of Deccani art dominates the decorative scheme of a vambrace (arm guard) in a private collection (Fig. 171). Fine scrollwork, composed of gold overlay, 'negative' within cusped medallions and 'positive' without, has the surging vitality we associate with early Deccani ornament. Similar palmettes fill the borders of a Golconda painted cotton summer floor covering in the Cincinnati Art Museum, a piece of which bears an Indian inventory date of 1645. The ogivally arched form of the vambrace is a characteristic common to both the textile design and the architecture of the Deccan.

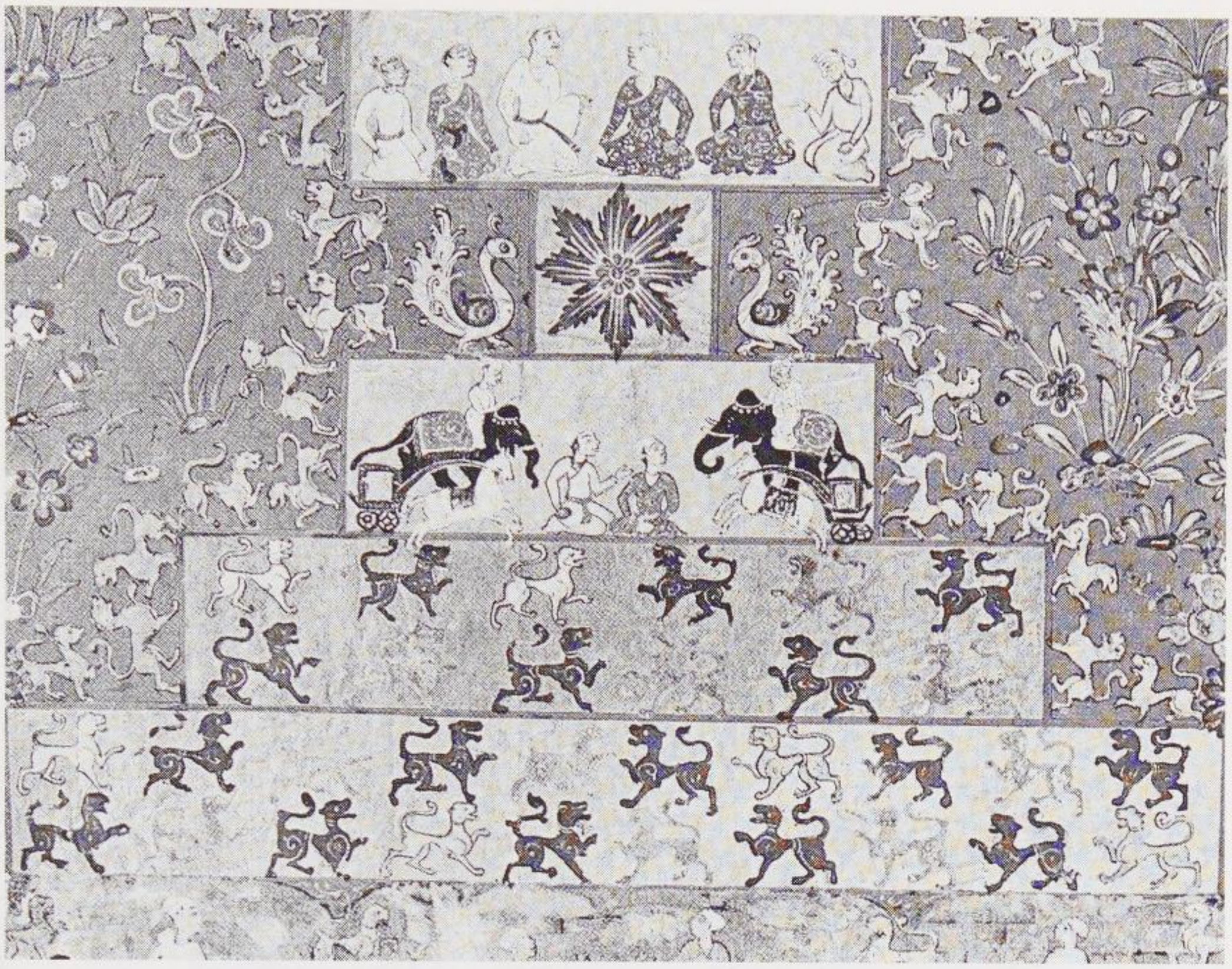
A small group of zoomorphic incense burners survives from the Sultanate period, one in the shape of a peacock and three lion-shaped pieces, one of which is

172 Bronze incense burner in the shape of a peacock, Deccan, late fifteenth or early sixteenth century

discussed here. The peacock incense burner successfully joins the abstraction of Islam with Indian plasticity (Fig. 172). The comma-shaped flourishes on the tail and crest are South Indian features. Similar birds dance on the steps of the Throne of Prosperity in the *Nujum al Ulum* manuscript in Dublin dated 1570–1 (see Fig. 173). As the peacock shows little of the naturalism inaugurated by Mughal painting in the second half of the sixteenth century, we assign it to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

The leonine vessel uses the old Deccani motif of a lion with an upraised paw, sometimes standing alone or, as here, trampling a tiny elephant (Fig. 174). Such creatures appear carved on the façades of the earlier Hoysala temples of the southern Deccan and on the walls of Golconda fort (see Fig. 82). Along with the prancing peacocks already noted, similar animals are also seen on the pages of the *Nujum al Ulum*. This lion's plump features, horns and bulging eyes derive from the Deccani repertoire, especially from the fantastic leonine beast, the yali. But there is also the influence of the animal vessels of the Middle East, especially from Seljuq Iran.

The only other candidate for a Sultanate dating is a beautiful bronze bowl with a



173 Detail of the *Throne of Prosperity*, fol. 191 r. of the *Nujum al Ulum*, Bijapur, dated 1570–1

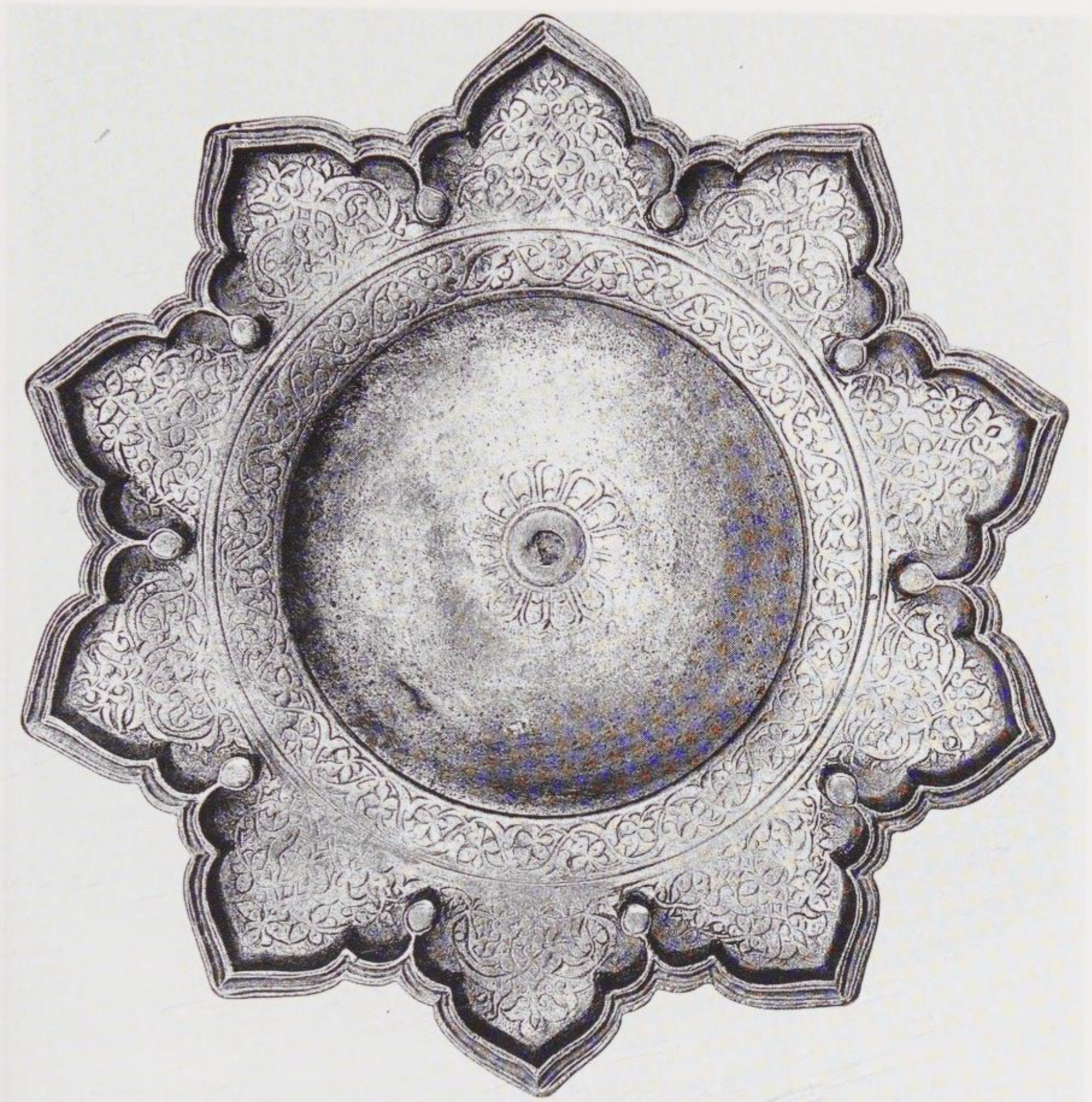
rounded body and a raised, cusped rim in the shape of a ten-pointed star (Fig. 175). Beneath the rim are fretwork brackets. Each of the ten panels is engraved with loosely drawn Timurid-style arabesque upon a ring-punched ground. The cusped stellar shape of the bowl recalls the terrace pools in Sultanate and Mughal palaces, the closest parallel being the fifteenth-century cistern in the Lal Bagh at Bidar which has fourteen cusped points (see Fig. 35). The bowl's tiered body and brackets beneath the rim are South Indian features: the decorative platform in the centre of the tank in front of the Asar Mahal, Bijapur, has the same tiered and bracketed profile.

A group of about twenty bronze, brass or copper vessels decorated with superb thuluth script can be attributed to the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Deccan on stylistic grounds. Their inscriptions are in the style of the Arabic epigraphy carved on black basalt panels in mosques and tombs in the Golconda-Hyderabad area (see chapter 4). Designed by the best émigré scribes from Iran or the Arab world, such calligraphic compositions are on average of a quality far superior to the epigraphy in contemporary North Indian buildings. The chief traits of this group of vessels can be summarised as follows: the metal is often thicker than that of Safavid or Mughal pieces; the calligraphy, almost always thuluth but occasionally

174 Bronze incense burner in the shape of a lion, Deccan, late fifteenth or early sixteenth century

naskh, is of an especially bold type, much larger in relation to the size of the object than the script on Mughal or Safavid pieces and having that special, energetic quality characteristic of the best Deccani ornament; the content of the inscriptions is frequently Shia, the invocation to Ali being particularly common; the dragon heads on kashkuls (begging bowls) and engraved animal motifs on other vessels have a pronounced South Indian flavour; lastly, the repertoire of shapes differs substantially from that of Safavid metalwork, including mainly trays, plaques, lotas (globular Indian water vases, unknown in Iran) and stemmed cups, as well as kashkuls and alams.

The large copper salver with traces of gilding in the Mittal Museum, Hyderabad, is by far the finest of this group of vessels (Fig. 176). It surpasses Safavid and Timurid models, and the designer must have been an exceptional painter from the royal Golconda atelier. As on related lotas and stemmed cups, the ornament is arranged in concentric bands around a central roundel enclosing a South Indian hamsa, or swan. An extraordinary thuluth inscription relates the Shia profession of faith, followed by a verse from the Koran (LXI, 13). The part which really astonishes, however, is the outer field which presents the animals of Iranian painting and Indian jungles with a freedom and naturalism that only the best Indian painting can



175 Bronze bowl in the shape of a ten-pointed star, Deccan, fifteenth century

rival. This menagerie includes phoenixes, lions, dragons, cows and elephants, all set against a dense arabesque of great vigour. The hamsa and the lion with an upraised paw – an ancient South Indian motif – place the salver firmly in the Deccan.

A large kashkul in the David Collection, Copenhagen, surpasses in size and quality not only other Deccani begging bowls, but surviving Safavid and Timurid examples as well (Fig. 177). Of thick, well-cast brass, it has mellowed to the black tone typical of patinated Deccani vessels. We cannot imagine that a mendicant could easily carry such a weighty piece; instead, it probably served as a ceremonial object in a shaykh's tomb. Its roaring dragon finials, crested and bearded in South Indian fashion, have the mass and naturalism that derives from the Hindu sculptural tradition. The broad calligraphic frieze beneath the rim on the outside is the Shia call to Ali, the nadi aliyyan, followed by a Koranic verse: 'succour is from God

176 Detail of engraved copper salver with traces of gilding, Golconda, *c.* 1600

and victory near' (LXI, 13). Inside, concentric registers round a central almond-shaped medallion at the bottom enclose pious phrases and Shia prayers.

Another piece that may have had a sacred connection is a lamp or incense burner of openwork cast brass, in a private collection (Fig. 178). Its fantastic shape is a minute version of Deccani tomb architecture: its polygonal plan imitates shrines at Bidar and Golconda; its feet resemble pilaster brackets; its small round dome perched high up on a fringe of lotus petals and the pendant lotus bud on one corner – all the others are lost – reproduce a Bijapur minaret in miniature (Fig. 61). We can well imagine this exotic object gracing a shaykh's tomb and the amazement of devotees seeing the clouds of perfumed smoke billowing out from its extravagant shape or, if used as a lamp, the intricate shadows which it cast all around.

An important class of Deccani metalwork is bidri, the black alloy containing mainly zinc, made in Bidar, inlaid with designs of silver or brass and very

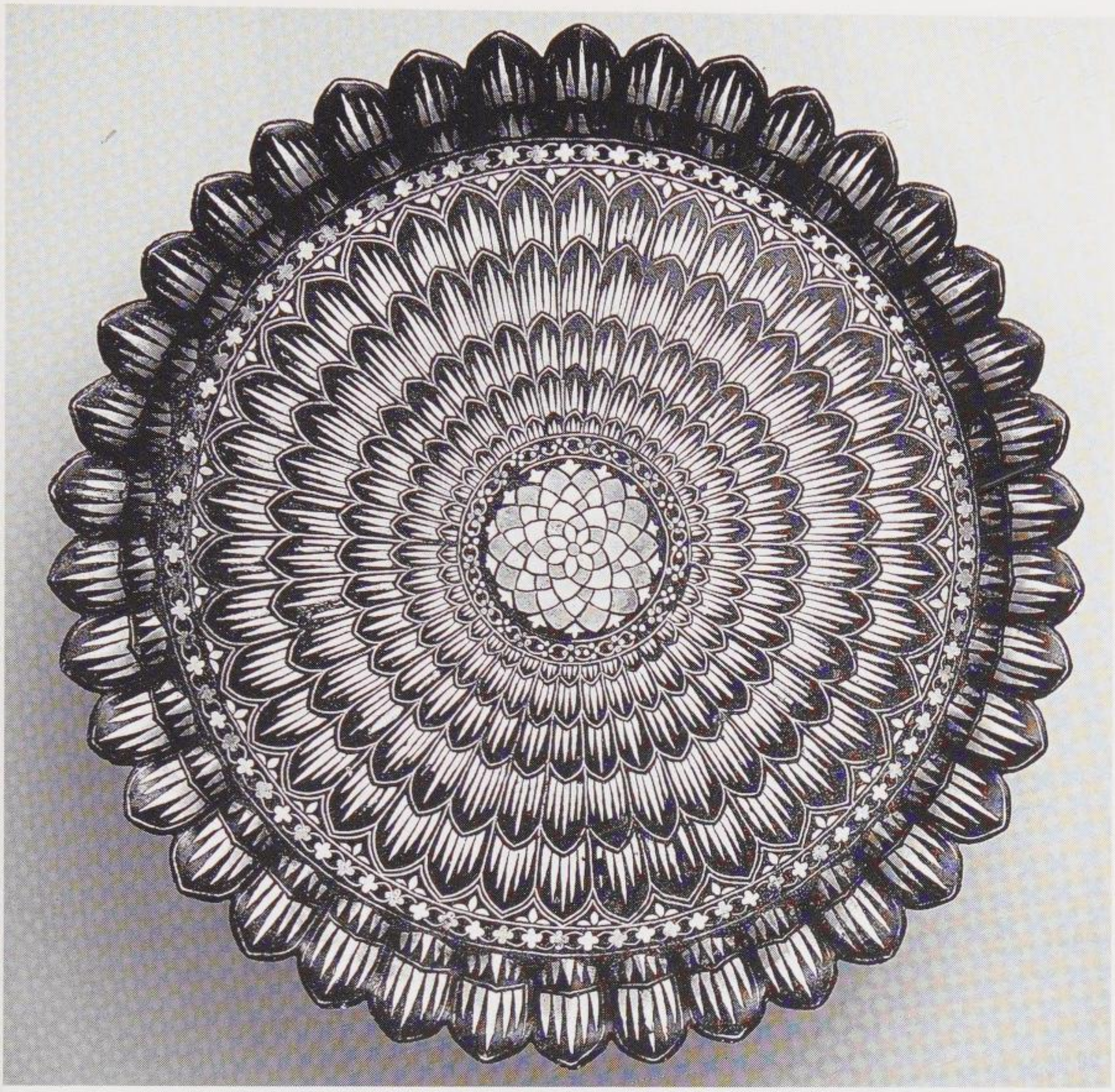
177 Tinned brass begging bowl (kashkul), Golconda, *c.* 1600

178 Brass incense burner in the shape of an octagonal shrine, Deccan, seventeenth century

179 Bidri huqqa base inlaid with brass and silver, Bidar, mid-seventeenth century

occasionally copper. The finest examples share the sombre fantastic air of early Deccani painting. Probably developed to rival the opulently inlaid metal wares of the Middle East, the craft may date back to the fourteenth or fifteenth century,though the oldest extant pieces cannot be earlier than the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries.

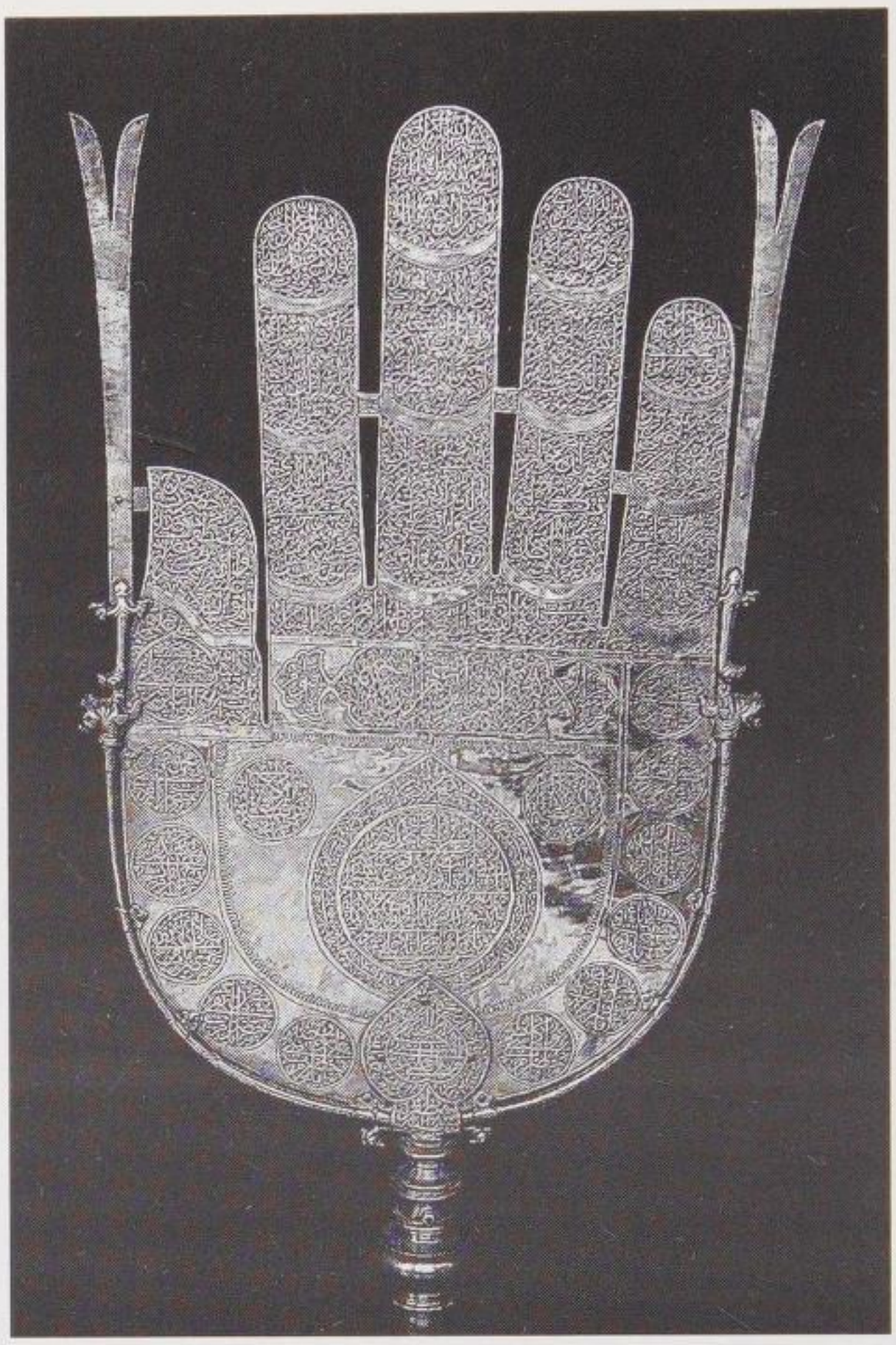
A highly original Bidar craftsman, probably working in the mid-seventeenth century, produced a closely related group of four huqqas with rare pictorial ornament, one of which is reproduced here (Fig. 179). Wine cups and vases fill the niches of pleasure pavilions, tall palms cast shade, forts crown rocky crags exactly as in Deccani paintings – and in the real landscape of the region – and precious



180 Bidri tray inlaid with brass and silver, Bidar, seventeenth century

springs gush forth from rocks forming the cooling stream which encircles the bottom of the globe. The division of the huqqa surface into water, earth and sky, with all possible pleasures provided, evokes the idea of an ideal world. We are reminded of the Koranic paradise garden, a theme as old as Islam itself, most completely expressed in the grand mosaic scheme of the Umayyad mosque at Damascus. The brass and silver inlay on a seventeenth-century bidri tray, which originally would have supported a matching huqqa, forms a magnificent sunburst pattern radiating out from a central lotus motif, one of the most powerful designs from Muslim India (Fig. 180).

Another aspect of Deccani metalwork is represented by the ceremonial standards known as alams, noticed already in the discussion on tilework (chapter 4). Metal alams are still used in Shia mourning rituals in Hyderabad and collections of such items are to be found in the ashurkhanas of the city. Royal chronicles of the Qutb

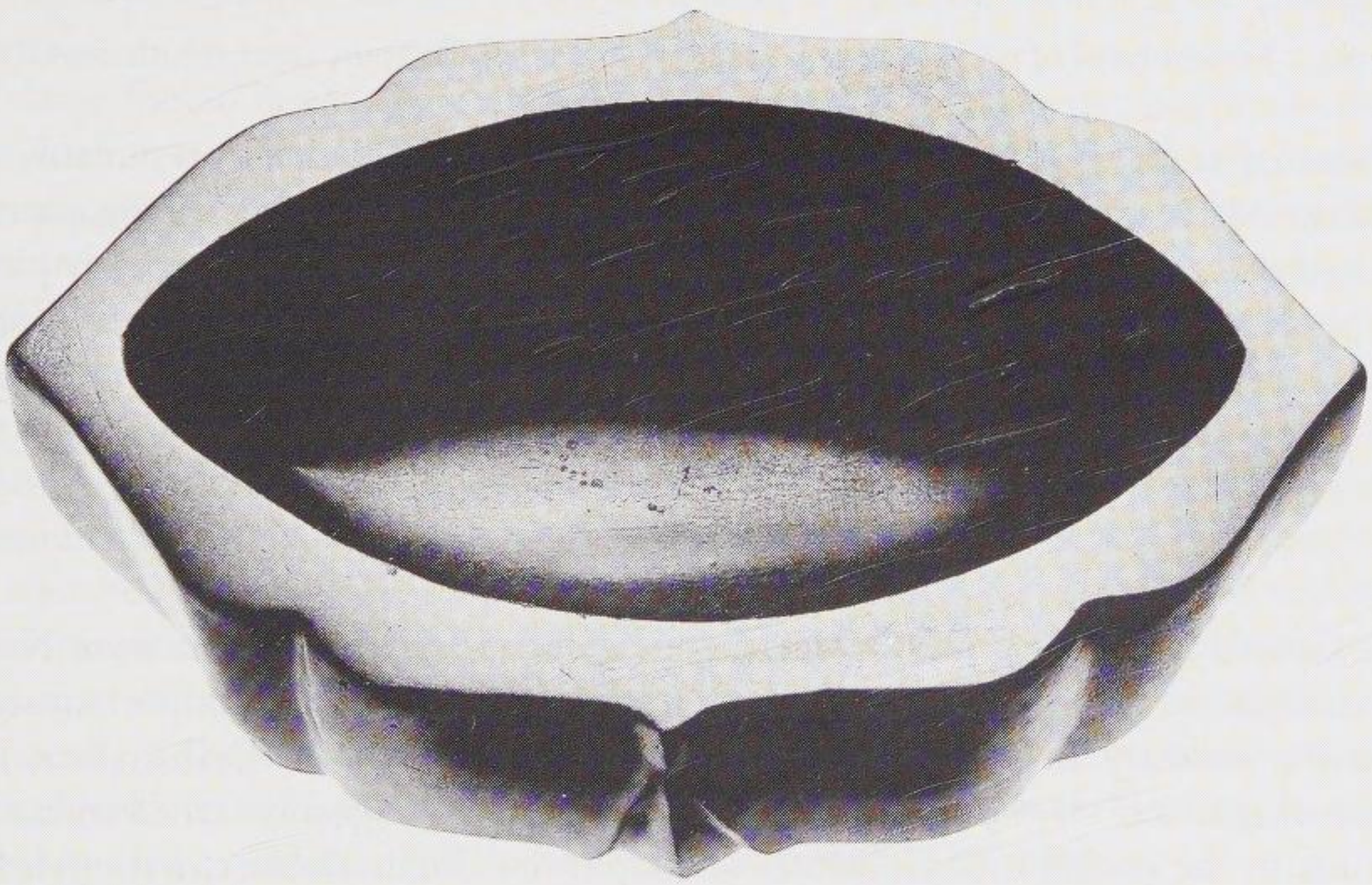


181 Brass alam in the shape of a protective hand, dated 1766–7, Badshahi Ashurkhana, Hyderabad

Shahi era mention gold alams studded with jewels, but these no longer exist. The brass alams preserved in the treasury of the Badshahi Ashurkhana in Hyderabad post-date the Qutb Shahi period, but are, nevertheless, of great quality. Like earlier Deccani metalwork, they are decorated with fine thuluth script. Dragon heads of the South Indian makara type enliven extravagant silhouettes. The finest piece is based on the shape of the protective hand symbolic of the five figures of Shia Islam – Muhammad, Fatima, Ali, Hassan and Husain – and is dated 1766–7 (Fig. 181). Dragons on each side bear minute zulfiqars, Ali's double-edged sword; the fine thuluth script is confined to roundels and cartouches, like Deccani architectural ornament.

Masterfully worked silver wire was used in the filigree objects made at Karimnagar north of Hyderabad. A dressing table set, which includes containers, rose water sprinklers and candlestands, in the Lord Clive Collection, Powis Castle, Wales, was first inventoried in 1774 and must, therefore, date from shortly before then. Even finer filigree fills the space between silver gilt ribs, rippling like waves, in the field of a large elegant tray of slightly earlier date (Fig. 182). A coarser casket of

182 Silver filigree tray with gilding on ribs, Karimnagar, eighteenth century



183 Boat-shaped mortar of polished nearly black basalt, Golconda, seventeenth century

184 Footed bowl of polished black basalt, Asar Mahal, Bijapur, seventeenth century

the same work containing flasks and a ladle stamped 'Hyder' (presumably for Haidar Ali) was found by the British in the palace of Tipu Sultan at Srirangapattana in 1799; it is now in the British Museum, London. A small collection of early pieces is preserved in the Salar Jang Museum, Hyderabad. Modern, but tasteless filigree items are still produced at Karimnagar, as well as at Cuttack in Orissa.

PORTABLE STONE OBJECTS

Compared to the large number of Mughal jades and marble objects from North India, almost nothing survives of what must have been an equally important stone carving industry in the Deccan. In the National Museum, Delhi, there is a boat-shaped mortar of polished, almost black basalt with ogivally arched ends, very much in the tradition of Golconda cenotaphs and Bidar architectural ornament (see chapter 4). An attribution to a Deccani Sultanate workshop is not merely conjectural: the mortar bears a large naskh inscription mentioning Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. A larger vessel of similar form, but with no inscription, is in a

185 Sygmoid-shaped bowl of serpentine marble, Deccan, seventeenth century

private collection (Fig. 183). The basalt from which it is fashioned is nearly black, veering to dark purple, flecked with brown feldspar, qualities typical of the Deccani mineral.

A large footed bowl, approximately 40 centimetres in diameter, survives in the Asar Mahal in Bijapur (Fig. 184). The vessel is of polished black basalt and is dramatically cusped. The twisted ribbing of the body has exactly the same shape as the curved rays of the dais in the Golconda hammam (see Fig. 91). It may be a seventeenth-century incense burner, for a smaller, less powerful object of this type survives in the Badshahi Ashurkhana at Hyderabad where it is still used for this purpose.

Another candidate for a seventeenth-century Deccani provenance is a vessel of sygmoidal form (Fig. 185). The green serpentine marble out of which this object is cut is found on the Deccan plateau. Its local Persian and Urdu name is zahr muhra, or poison stone, following the belief that a vessel of serpentine marble – like one of celadon – will discolour or crack if food containing poison is placed inside. Its elegant shape is geometric, but reminds us also of a leaf or flower petal. A Deccani bronze bowl of the same shape but deeper, engraved with thuluth script and probably used as a kashkul, is in the David Collection, Copenhagen.

CHAPTER 8

TEMPLES

Hindu religious architecture in the Deccan was effectively brought to an end by the Delhi conquests. Temples all over the region were desecrated and destroyed, their ceremonies profoundly disrupted if not altogether extinguished. So complete was the devastation that when need arose again to build Hindu sanctuaries in the second half of the seventeenth century there was no living tradition to draw on; the immediate solution was to borrow from contemporary practice. The extent to which Maratha temples relied on Sultanate and Mughal architecture is seen in the techniques and decorative devices derived from mosques and tombs (see chapter 3). The earliest Maratha temples, such as Shivaji's shrine at Raigad and his memorial at Sindhudurg, are built of stone and mortar, with repeated use of pointed arches as well as vaults and domes supported on pendentives and squinches. Ornamentation is generally restricted to stylised parapet elements and lotus finials. Such a dependence on techniques and features derived from mosques and tombs, whether Sultanate or Mughal, does not seem to have implied any religious associations; rather, it was merely a case of adopting traditions which lay nearest to hand.

As temple building increased in response to the expansion of Maratha power in the course of the eighteenth century, architects also took opportunities to study the remains of past traditions. The most readily available models in the Maratha heartland were the Yadava temples of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the dilapidated remains of which were plainly visible throughout the western Deccan. No historical evidence exists to show how exactly these earlier monuments were studied; the results, however, are clear. Imitation Yadava temples sprang up all over the Maratha territories, as at Nasik, Trimbak and Ellora. Not only were Yadava plan types and elevational treatments closely copied, attempts were also made to emulate Yadava religious art, with figures and animals carved on basements, wall niches and column blocks. In time, all of these disparate, though essentially indigenous traditions were reconciled, with Sultanate and Mughal features blending effortlessly with revivalist Yadava features.

The appearance of this synthetic mode coincides with religious developments in Maharashtra during this time. The growth in popularity of the cults of Bhavani of Tuljapur, Khandoba of Jejuri and Vithoba at Pandharpur, for instance, is explained by the support given to these divinities by Shivaji and his successors. In response to what was, in effect, a revival of popular Hinduism, temples at these and other pilgrimage sites, including Nasik, Ellora and Ramtek, benefited from substantial investment. So thoroughly were existing temples at these localities remodelled by

Maratha patrons that sometimes almost nothing is preserved of their earlier, pre-Sultanate fabric.

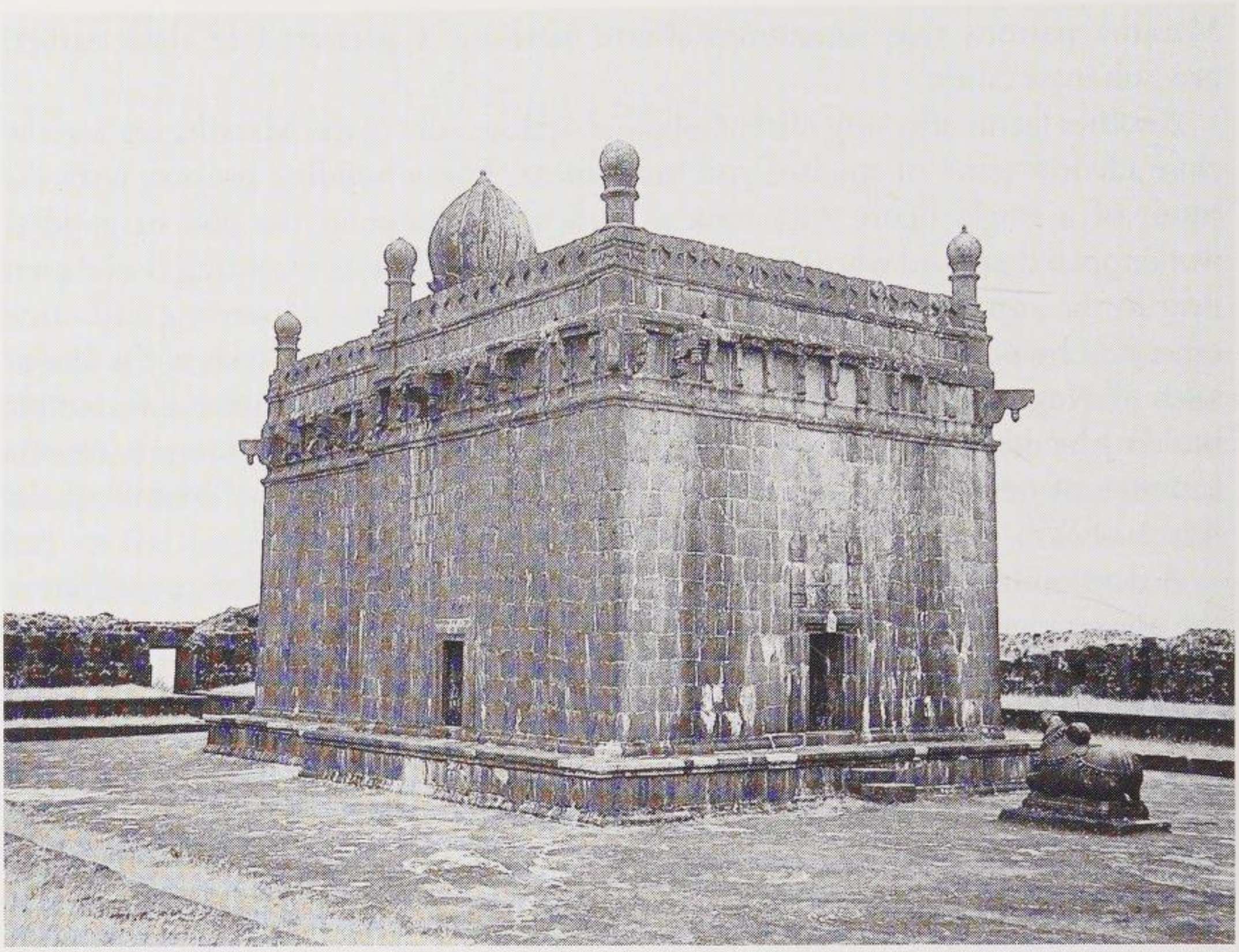
Another factor affecting Hindu religious architecture in the Maratha era was the close identification of sponsor and monument. Many building projects were the result of a single figure who took a particular interest in the god or goddess worshipped there and whose name was inscribed on a plaque recording the bequest near to the entrance. Temple building was a visible means of asserting authority, especially by powerful personalities in recently won territories, such as the Bhonsales of Nagpur or the Chhatrapatis of Kolhapur. The commitment to temple building by the Holkars, for example, parallels their emerging autonomy; so too the activities of newly prominent families, like the Pant Pratinidhis of Mahuli or the Rastes of Wai.

A development to be noted towards the end of the period under review here is the appearance of the memorial shrine, termed chhatri, dedicated to a particular ruler. This practice, hitherto unknown in the Deccan, was probably imported into the region from Rajasthan where there was a long-standing tradition of royal chhatri building. The linga shrine which serves as a memorial to Shivaji at Sindhudurg is the first such structure. This is followed by a series of later funerary monuments that reaches its climax in the chhatri of Ahilyabai at Maheshwar, the grandest of the Maratha series. This ornate building resembles a temple in all essential respects, except that it is consecrated to a historical queen who is worshipped there as a saint.

SHIVAJI AND HIS DESCENDANTS

Hindu religious architecture under the Marathas was initiated at Raigad where Shivaji erected a linga shrine to Jagadishvara in 1674, the year of his coronation (Fig. 186). The temple stands in a walled compound with an arched entrance on the east leading to Shivaji's cremation site. The shrine itself is a somewhat austere structure with a sanctuary housing the image of the deity and an attached mandapa, or hall, both raised on a common plinth. Plain walls are overhung by sloping stone eaves on brackets, now mostly lost. The parapet above has trefoil elements in relief running between octagonal corner finials with domical tops. The sanctuary is roofed with a plastered dome on a petalled frieze; this contrasts with the pyramidal vault above the mandapa. An earlier temple erected by Shivaji is the Bhavani shrine at Pratapgad, founded in 1661 to replicate the cult at Tuljapur. This modest building is of little merit, except for the two stone lamp columns, or dipamalas, with tapering profiles and tiers of curving brackets. This feature was to become ubiquitous in later religious complexes.

It was Rajaram who was responsible for erecting the Shivarajeshvara temple on the island fort at Sindhudurg in 1695 (Fig. 187). The original scheme consists of a sanctuary and arcaded mandapa. The exterior of the building is devoid of interest,



186 Jagadishvara temple, Raigad, 1674

except for the pyramidal tower over the sanctuary. This is created by dimishing tiers capped with an octagonal finial with a bulbous domical top on a petalled base. The attached mandapa has a triple-aisled interior created by massive piers carrying semi-circular arches. Continuous curved vaults roof the side aisles, while three raised vaults with curved sides rise above the central aisle. Each of these vaults is capped with a domical finial similar to that on the tower. As with the Jagadishvara, the vaulting techniques and parapet and finial elements are all familiar from Sultanate practice; the combination of these features, however, is unlike anything known before.

THE PESHWAS

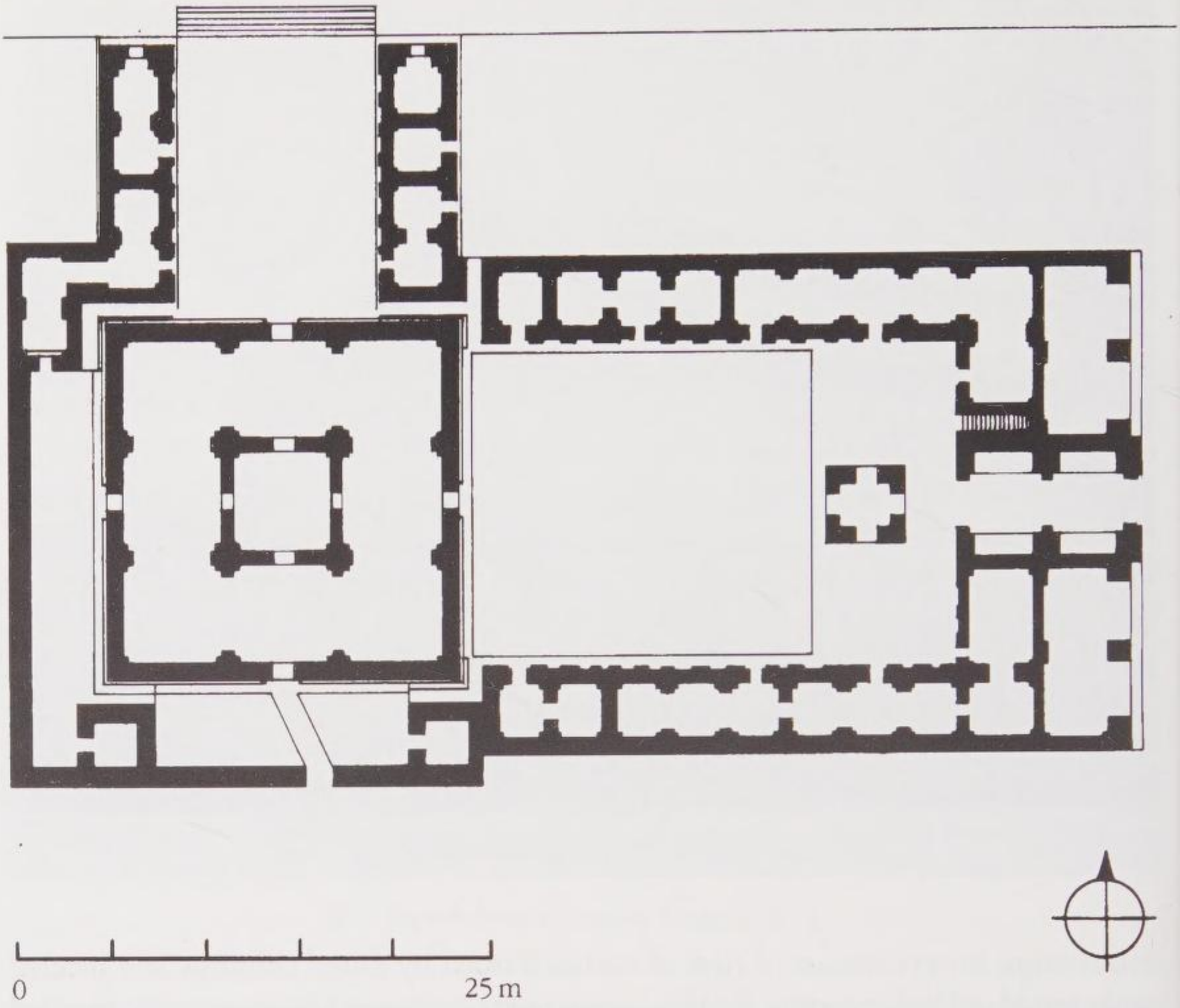
The inventive adaptation of Sultanate forms for Hindu ritual usage seen at Raigad and Sindhudurg seems to have set a trend that was followed in the temples erected by the peshwas and their ministers during the course of the eighteenth century. By this time Mughal architecture was established in the Deccan and its impact extended as far as Hindu religious buildings. The most obvious Mughal features to appear in Maratha temples are lobed arches and arcades serving as entrances to mandapas and porches. Superstructures also betray Mughal influence. Polygonal,

187 Shivarajeshvara temple, Sindhudurg, 1695

multi-stage towers consist of tiers of niches framed by fluted columns and headed with lobed arches; capping bangla cornices are enlivened with curving petalled cornices. Finials take bulbous domical forms that rise on tiers of petals.

The Omkareshvara temple at Pune erected by Bajirao in 1736 skilfully integrates Sultanate constructional devices with Mughal decorative features (Fig. 188). The temple stands within a high-walled compound entered on the east through an arched portal. It is laid out on a nine-square plan, the bays roofed with flattish domes on faceted pendentives, replaced by vaults over the two front corner bays. The linga sanctuary, which occupies the central bay, has a doorway on the east and screens on the other three sides. The exterior is plain, except for a bold cornice on lotus brackets and a parapet of cut-out battlements. Eight low domes surround the square tower that rises over the central bay. This displays two diminishing tiers of lobed arches topped with a bulbous lotus dome.

Other temples at Pune are simpler in layout, the attention focusing mainly on the central spire. The example in Tulsibagh constructed in 1761 by Balaji Bajirao has an unadorned square sanctuary. This is topped with an ornate brick and plaster tower attaining an overall height of about 45 metres. The spire is divided into six stages, the lowest being square, the remainder twelve-sided. Each stage is adorned with a set of sculpture niches in the typical Mughal manner; miniature lotus domes serve as finials, duplicated at the summit of the central spire. The temple in nearby



188 Plan of Omkareshvara temple, Pune, 1736

Belbagh, begun four years later, displays a similar but shorter tower. Its sanctuary is approached through an antechamber with a Mughal-style arcade. Similar arcades with lobed arches serve as the entrance to the domed mandapa adjoining the sanctuary of the Rameshvara temple. The polygonal spire of the Vitthalvadi has only two tiers of twelve niches, giving the temple a somewhat stunted appearance.

Tapering twelve-sided towers with multiple layers of lobed niches continue to be popular throughout the eighteenth century, being adopted in the rebuilding projects commissioned by the peshwas at important religious sites like Alandi and Tuljapur. Religious monuments erected at the lesser centres of the Maratha state generally combine Sultanate and Mughal features with revivalist halls and porches. The almost identical Vateshvara and Sangameshvara temples dating from 1725 on the outskirts of Sasvad imitate the star-shaped sanctuaries, closed mandapas and open porches of Yadava times. Both examples stand on fortified terraces with pairs of dipamalas at the front corners. The outer walls are articulated by deeply cut

horizontal mouldings relieved by friezes of medallions and petals, overhung by projecting eaves. Multi-faceted brick and plaster towers rising in three diminishing stages repeat the projections of the sanctuaries beneath. Central panels curve up in tusk-like formation on four sides to frame the petalled bulbous domes which crown the superstructures. Smaller and simpler towers crown the mandapa roofs; finials with domical tops surmount corner buttresses. The porches display well-articulated stone columns and brackets.

Temples at Mahuli on the Krishna, 5 kilometres east of Satara, display slightly different combinations of elements. The largest of this group is the Vishveshvara, erected in about 1735 by Shripatrao, a member of the local Pant Pratinidhi family (Fig. 189). The main building stands on a polygonal terrace, partly surrounded by arcades, with steps descending to the river either side of a centrally placed dipamala. A sanctuary with angled corners in star-shaped formation opens off an open mandapa with projecting porches and balcony seating on three sides. The tower reflects the angled projections of the sanctuary beneath, onto which are superimposed shallow niches with bangla cornices. The tower is capped with a bulbous dome on a prominent petalled neck. A smaller tower repeating many of these elements crowns the adjoining antechamber; the capping dome here is fluted rather than plain. Turrets treated as miniature pavilions rise upon the roof of the mandapa as well as that of the Nandi pavilion that stands freely in front. The tower of the nearby Sangameshvara temple presents a simpler curving design with central panels, similar to the Sasvad monuments already noted. The sanctuary at Shingnapur, about 75 kilometres to the east, is stylistically related to the Mahuli group.

Temples on the Krishna at Wai, 35 kilometres upstream from Mahuli, were sponsored by members of the local Raste family. Some present conventional schemes. The Kashivishveshvara of 1757, a project of Anandrao Bhikaji, stands in a walled compound entered through an arched gate on the east. The plain walls of the sanctuary and mandapa have small perforated stone windows, one of which displays a design with knotted serpents. The twelve-sided tower has triple sets of niches capped by a fluted petalled domė. The mandapa is roofed with a lotus dome on pendentives. A large tortoise is engraved on the floor beneath. In contrast, the sanctuary interior is roofed with a curved vault. The free-standing Nandi pavilion in front is flanked by a pair of octagonal dipamalas.

The Ganapati temple at Wai, erected in 1762 by Ganapatrao Bhikaji, presents a contrasting design of striking originality (Fig. 190). This imposing monument consists of a large rectangular chamber with a pyramidal vault housing a 2 metre-high image of Ganesha. Unadorned exterior walls are surmounted by a brick and plaster tower shaped as a fluted cone more than 20 metres high. This remarkable composition is adorned with petals at the base and with ribbed circular motifs at the summit; diminutive replica cones mark the corners. Comparable pyramidal towers with alternating convex and angled flutings are seen in several smaller temples at Pune. Another of the Wai temples which shows some measure of

189 Vishveshvara temple, Mahuli, *c.* 1735

190 Ganapati temple, Wai, 1762

originality is the Mahalakshmi completed in 1778. Its tower presents five diminishing tiers of twelve arched niches in shallow relief arranged in circular rather than polygonal formation.

Domical forms, generally in plaster-covered brickwork, sometimes replace polygonal spires. The Siddheshvara at Toke, on the bank of the Godavari, 55 kilometres north-east of Ahmadnagar, is of interest for the central dome surrounded by eight lesser half-domes which cluster around it. The vertical contours of

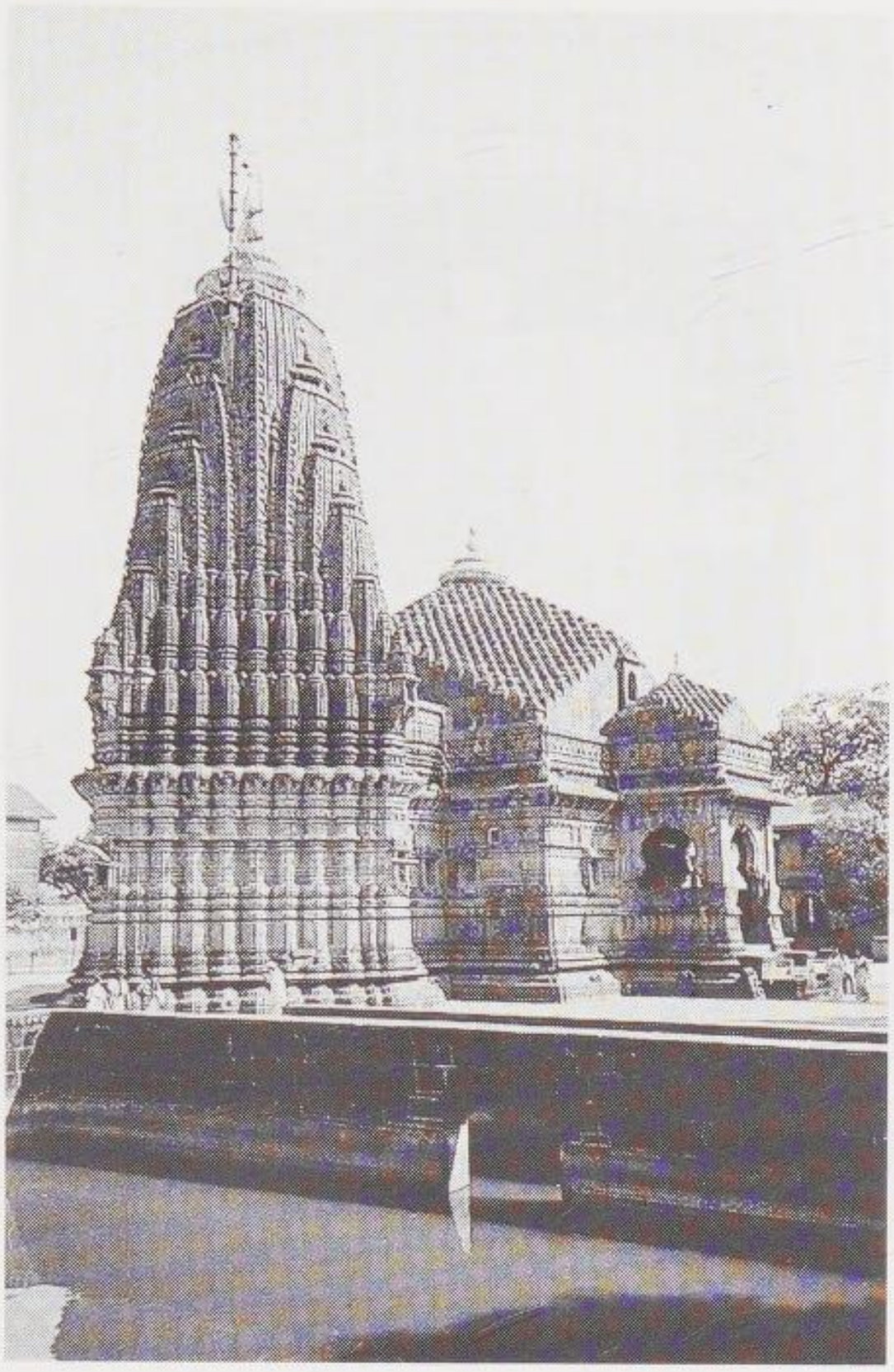
these domes contrast with the flattish profile of the dome over the mandapa. The outer walls of the temple have multiple projections relieved by deeply cut horizontal mouldings. These run almost continuously around the balcony seating of the partly open hall.

Imitation of earlier modes has already been noted as a distinctive attribute of Maratha temple architecture. Deeply cut horizontal bands, occasionally with shallow friezes of stylised ornament, articulate the outer walls of both sanctuaries and mandapas. Smoothly curving towers have lesser spires of identical shape superimposed on the sides, each with the same circular ribbed element and pot finial that cap the central shaft. Doorways both inside and outside employ pilasters, angled eaves and pediments of serpentine designs. Among the examples displaying this range of revivalist features are the Sundarnarayana and Naroshankara, the former dating from 1756, standing on opposite banks of the Godavari at Nasik. Mandapas of these temples are approached through triple porches with balcony seating. The roofs vary: bulbous domes with pronounced ribbing are seen in the Sundarnarayana, whereas the Naroshankara has complicated pyramids of sculpted elements with vertical faces creating triangular facets. One of the finest doorways of the type already noted is that leading into the mandapa of the Trishunda Ganapati temple at Pune, completed in 1770. As at Nasik, this entrance is flanked by wall niches of obvious Mughal inspiration, with fluted columns and bangla roofs in relief (see Fig. 199).

Curved towers of the same type as at Nasik cap the slightly later Mohiniraja temple at Nevase, about 40 kilometres north of Ahmadnagar. The mandapa in this example has eight columns carrying beams carved with Hindu subjects; the corbelled dome above has a central pendant lotus. A later version of this curving spire is seen in the Kalarama temple at Nasik, completed in 1790. Bulbous domes with articulated horizontal mouldings roof both mandapa and porch. Yet another variation on the clustered tower theme occurs at Bhimashankar, a remote forested site 120 kilometres north-west of Pune. The dilapidated Yadava temple here was entirely reconstructed by financiers from Pune, the tower itself being the responsibility of Nana Phadnavis, minister of the later peshwas.

Arguably the most impressive revivalist temple of the Maratha series is the Trimbakeshvara at a site marking the source of the Godavari, 30 kilometres west of Nasik (Fig. 191). The monument was begun under Balaji Bajirao, but work continued until the end of the eighteenth century. The sanctuary presents a multi-faceted plan approaching a diagonal square. Wall projections are carried up into the spire where they are transformed into double tiers of diminutive towered elements. Shallow outlines of superimposed curved spires, each with a ribbed part-circular finial, flank the four sides of the central shaft. The hall and trio of entrance porches, as well as the Nandi pavilion in front, are roofed with pyramids of ribbed elements with triangular side facets.

That the memorial chhatri tradition was continued by the peshwas is seen at

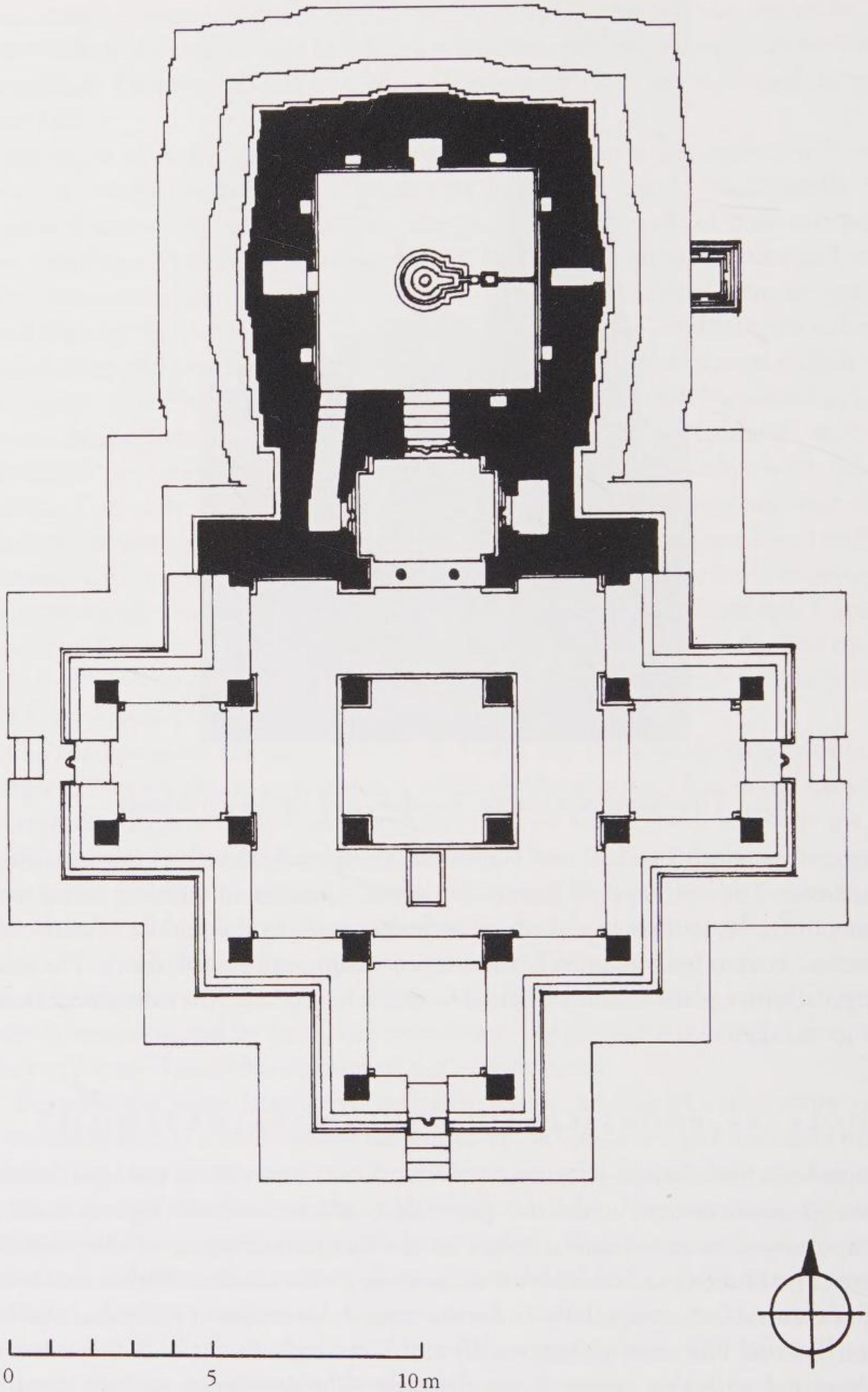


191 Trimbakeshvara temple, Trimbak, mid-eighteenth century

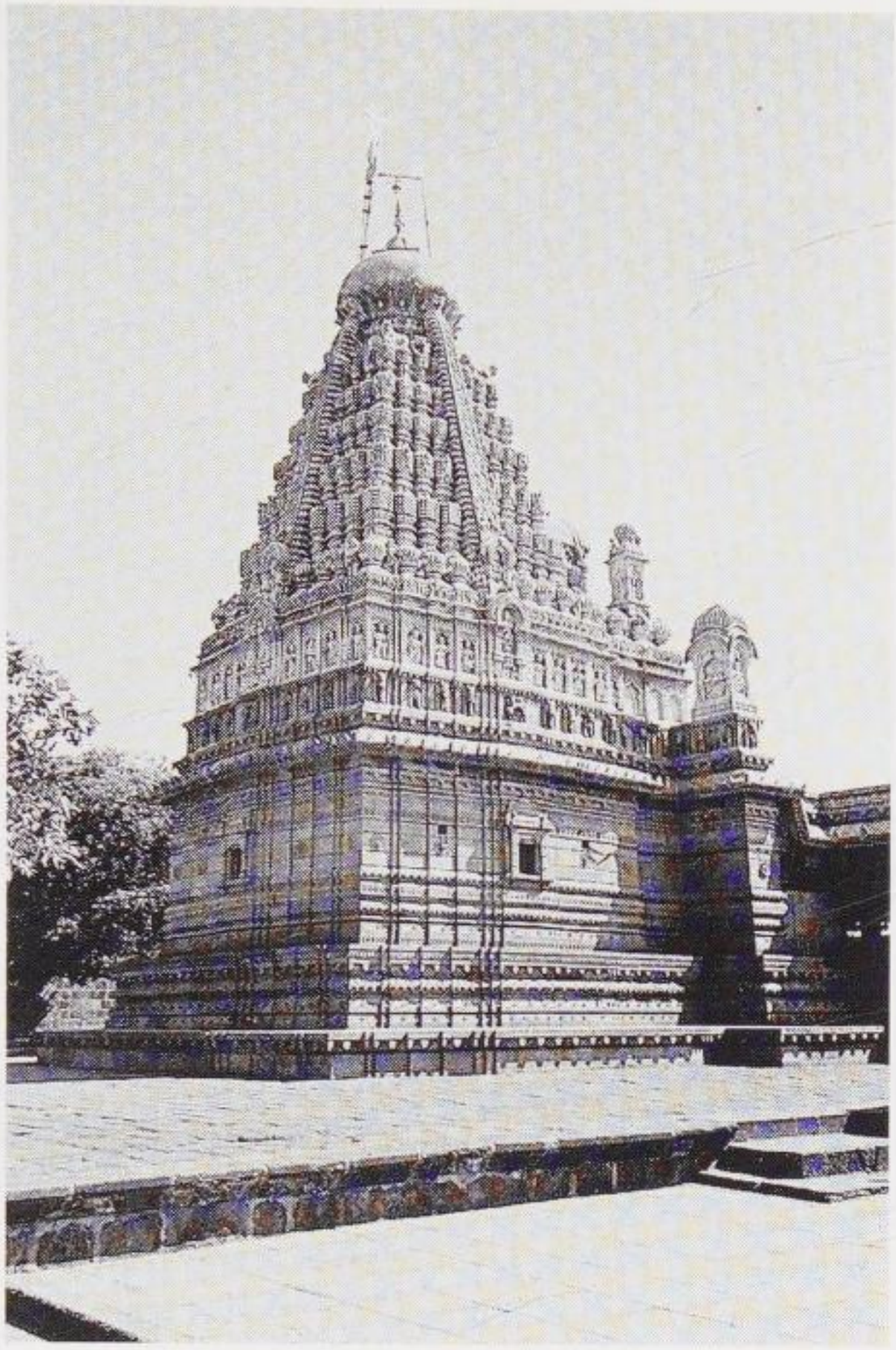
Raver on the south bank of the Narmada, about 35 kilometres upstream from Maheshwar. The cenotaph of Bajirao is a modest hexagonal building raised on a square plinth. Its sandstone walls have arched recesses in the middle of each side. Perforated screens with geometric and looped designs are placed above. The walls are topped with a plain cornice. There is no dome or any roof, the monument being open to the sky.

HOLKARS, BHONSALES AND OTHER MARATHA FAMILIES

The synthetic but ubiquitous temple style continued to evolve in the later decades of the eighteenth century under the sponsorship of lesser military figures, some of whom emerged as autonomous rulers in the farther territories of the Maratha empire. The Holkars of Indore built extensively in the Deccan, Malwa and other parts of Central India, especially under the capable direction of Ahilyabai and her general Tukoji. The most architecturally ambitious monument in Maharashtra to be associated with this queen is the revivalist Ghrishneshvara temple standing in front of the rock-cut monuments at Ellora (Figs. 192 and 193). The finely worked sandstone walls of the south-facing sanctuary are articulated by deeply cut



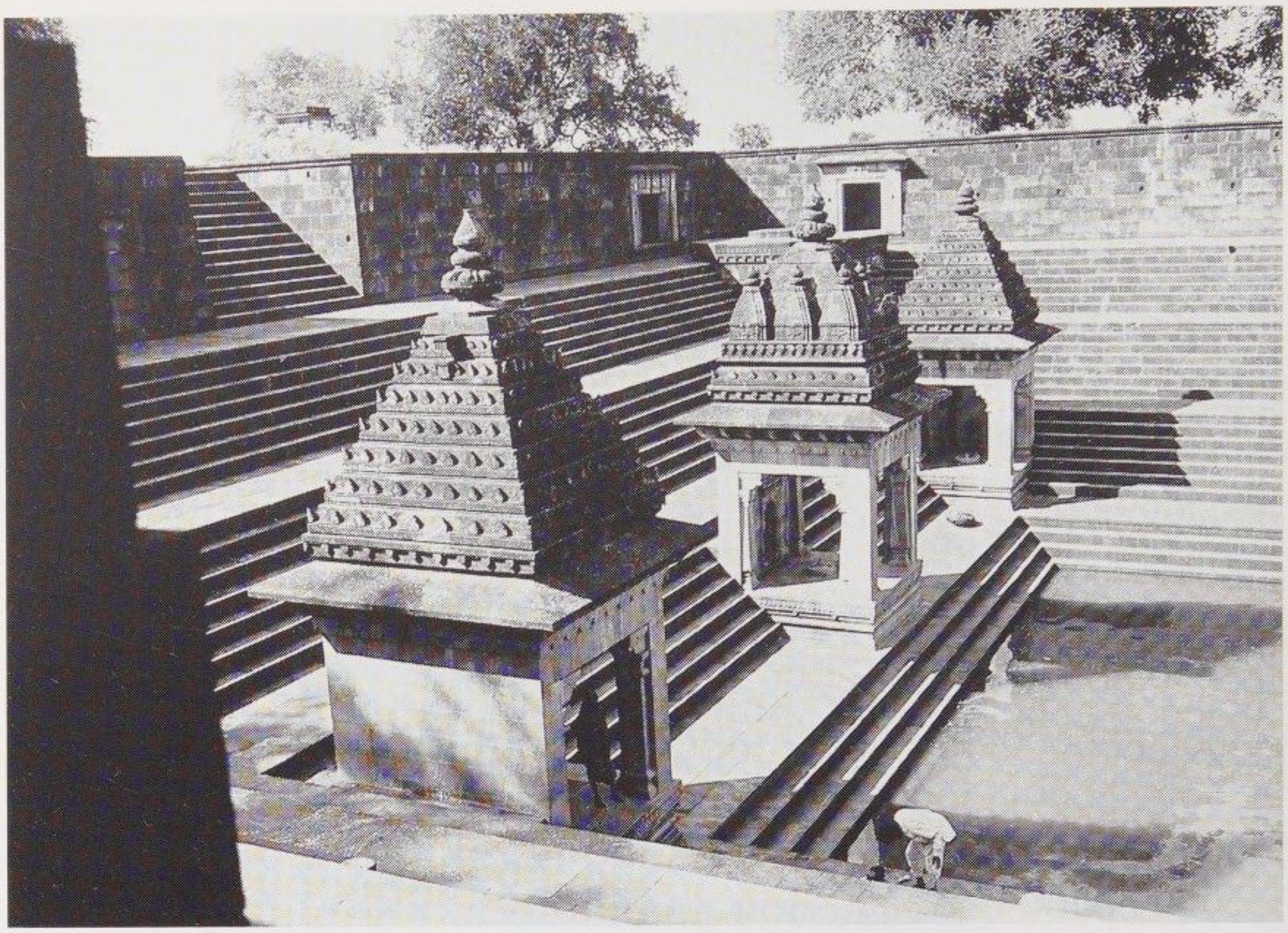
192 Plan of Ghrishneshvara temple, Ellora, last quarter of eighteenth century



193 Ghrishneshvara temple

horizontal mouldings as well as by shallow projections. The brick and plaster tower rising above is divided into diminishing tiers of model elements arranged either side of central bands that terminate in a bulbous domical finial on petals. The frontal projection shows an encrusted arch framing Shiva and Parvati riding on Nandi. The adjoining open mandapa accommodating a sculpted Nandi has porch projections with balcony seating on three sides. The interior of the sanctuary, in excess of 5 metres square, is roofed by a dome carried on corner arches. A related work by Ahilyabai at Ellora is the pond known as Shivatirtha, a short distance from the Grishneshvara (Fig. 194). The stepped basin stands in a square enclosure with entrances in the middle of four sides. Eight small linga pavilions with pyramidal or curving clustered roofs are distributed around the water. The complex is notable for the strictly symmetrical design and fine degree of finish of the architectural portions.

Another monument that benefited from Holkar patronage is the Khandoba temple at Jejuri, 16 kilometres south of Sasvad, which was renovated by Tukoji in about 1770. The main shrine, which stands in a polygonal arcaded compound at the top of a steep hill, is a modest structure capped with Mughal-style pavilions



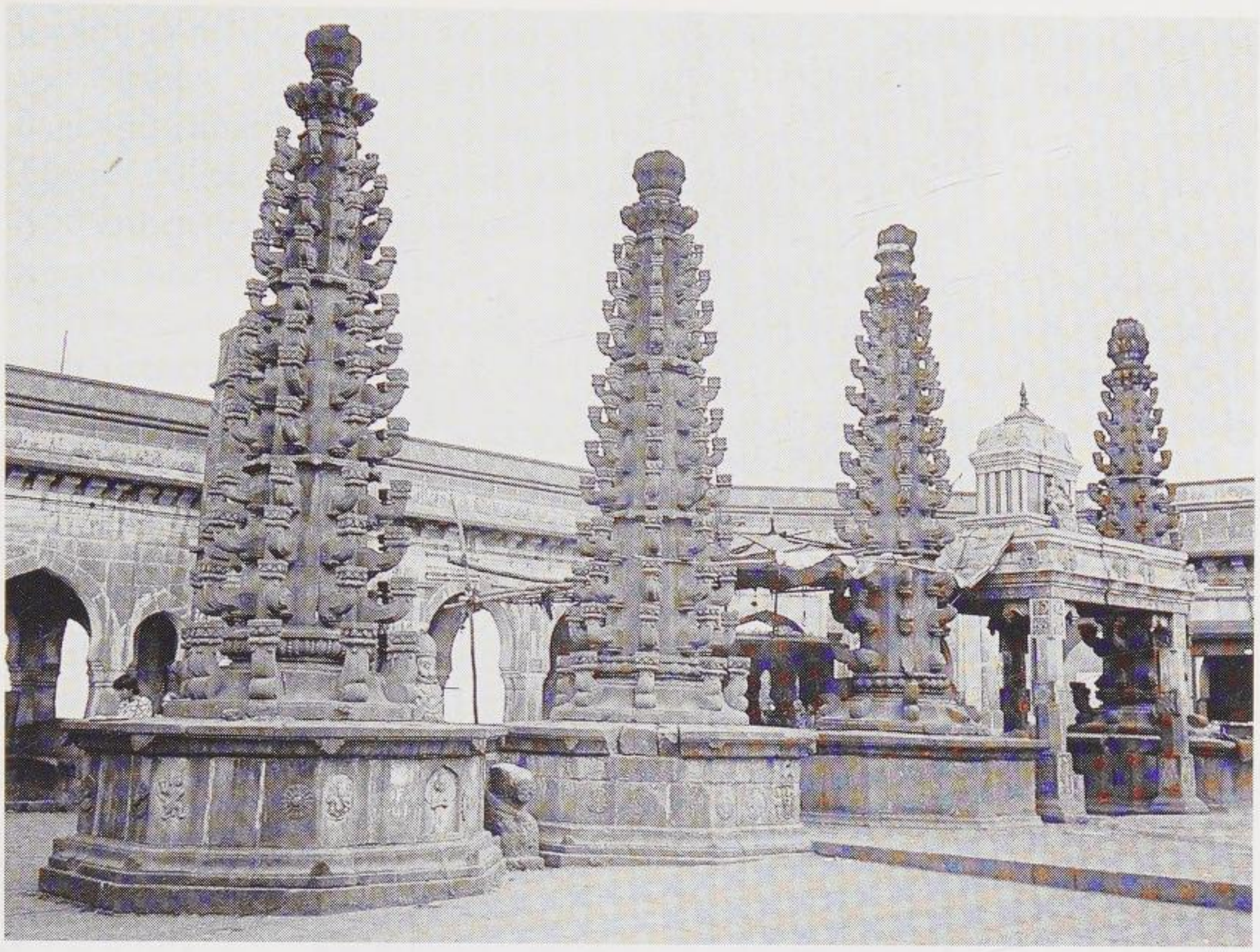
194 Shivatirtha, Ellora, last quarter of eighteenth century

showing bangla cornices. The Panchalinga shrine to the rear is distinguished by an octagonal spire with triple tiers of niches topped with a domical finial. A line of four imposing dipamalas stands in front of the shrines (Fig. 195). These tapering octagonal columns are topped with petalled domical finials.

Further Mughal-derived elements are seen in the arched entrance to the complex and in the gateways lining the access steps. The small Mahadeva shrine in the town below is also the work of Tukoji. The chief object of worship here is a linga behind which are statues of Malharo and his three wives.

Maheshwar on the bank of the Narmada, at the northern extremity of the Deccan, became the Holkar capital under Ahilyabai, who oversaw the construction of the palace here as well as nearby shrines, rest-houses and chhatris. The memorial that she erected for her infant son Vitthalrao, who died in 1765, is a small but elegant building dominated by a Mughal-style fluted dome, the curving segments rising upon well-formed acanthus decoration. At the same time, Ahilyabai was also actively engaged in temple building at localities well beyond her capital. Her temples at Varanasi and Gaya, for instance, are among the most significant Hindu constructional projects in North India belonging to the second half of the eighteenth century. They fall, however, beyond the geographical confines of this study.

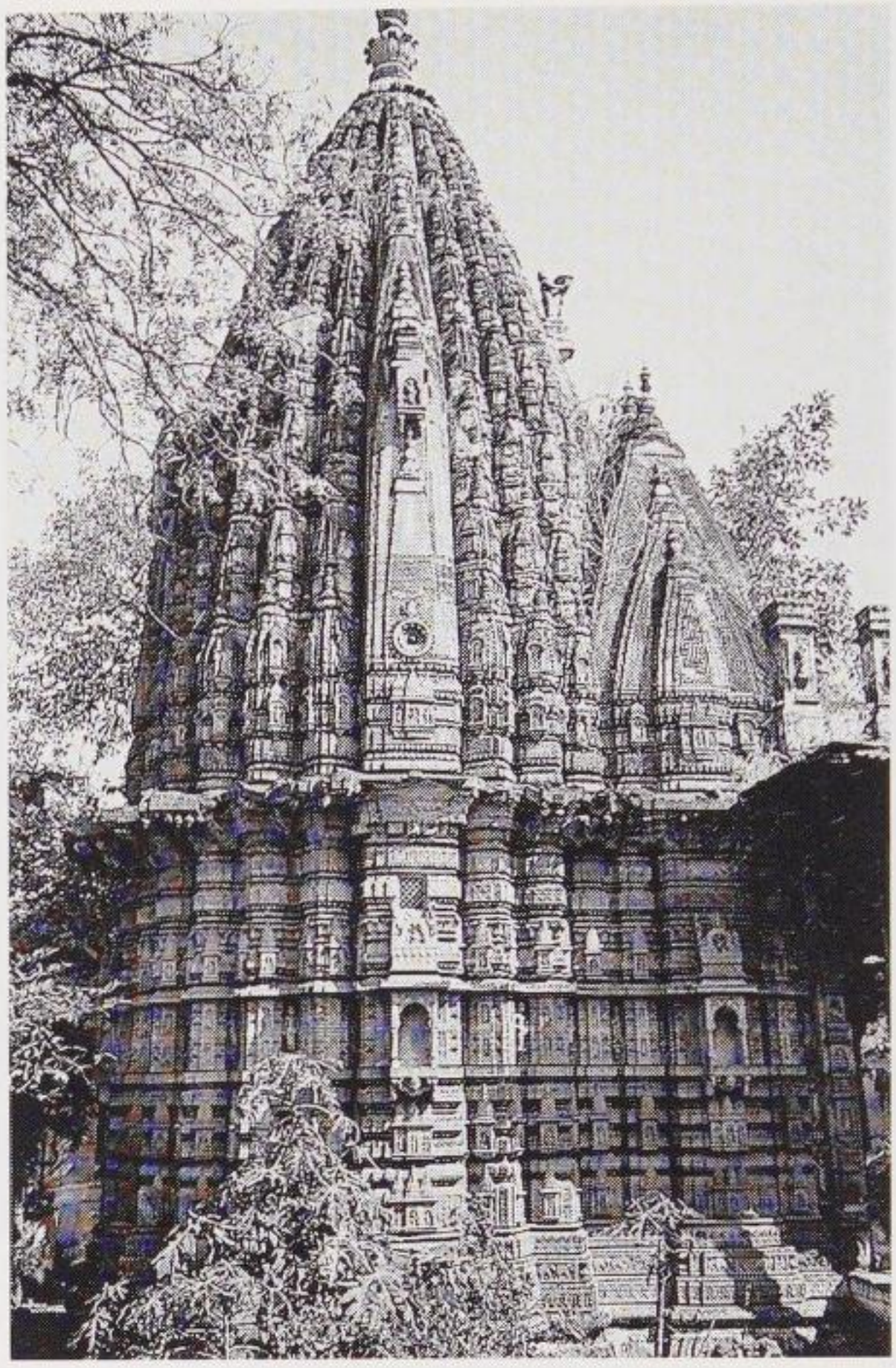
The largest monument at Maheshwar, actually dedicated to Ahilyabai herself, was begun by her successor Yeshwantrao in 1799, four years after her death, but



195 Stone lamp columns (dipamalas) in the Khandoba temple, Jejuri, last quarter of eighteenth century

completed only in 1833 by Krishnabai, Yeshwantrao's widow. Ahilyabai's memorial forms part of a grandiose complex, incorporating Vitthalrao's chhatri with which it is aligned, and a monumental entrance gate approached from the river by an imposing flight of steps. Ahilyabai's chhatri is dominated by a cluster of curving towered elements that rises over an inner domed sanctuary. This is preceded by an open mandapa displaying cusped arches as well as pavilion-like parapet elements topped with miniature domes.

The Bhonsales became active temple builders only after they had established themselves at Nagpur in the Gond territories of eastern Maharashtra in about 1740. Their religious monuments reconcile Mughal-inspired features with revivalist features drawn from earlier Central Indian temple practice. The Raghurajeshvari and Rukmini temples standing in adjacent compounds in the centre of Nagpur are assigned to the reign of Raghuji II in the last quarter of the eighteenth century (Fig. 196). These almost identical sanctuaries are approached through Mughal-style halls with fluted columns and lobed arcades, all fashioned in wood. The shrines, finely executed in deep red sandstone, are laid out on 24-sided star-shaped plans with multiple angles approaching a circle. Sculptural friezes animate the basement mouldings, wall niches and brackets carrying the overhangs. The towers above



196 Rukmini temple, Nagpur, late eighteenth century

repeat the angled projections of the walls, here converted into tiers of miniature tower models. Central vertical bands decorated with shallow geometric patterns display superimposed tiers of towered profiles with sharply pointed pinnacles. These ascend to circular ribbed elements and pot finials. Antechambers have their own towers, with similar but simpler curved designs. Among the other temples of this type at Nagpur is the small Mahadeva shrine on the bank of the Shukrawani tank. The frontal face of its tower is carved with a band of dense foliate ornamentation that surrounds the trilobed entrance to a roof-top chamber. The tower of the Muralidhar temple, built of plaster-covered brick, presents a less complicated multi-faceted scheme. Diminishing tiers of lobed niches accommodating miniature figures ascend to a domical finial framed by standing Nandis.

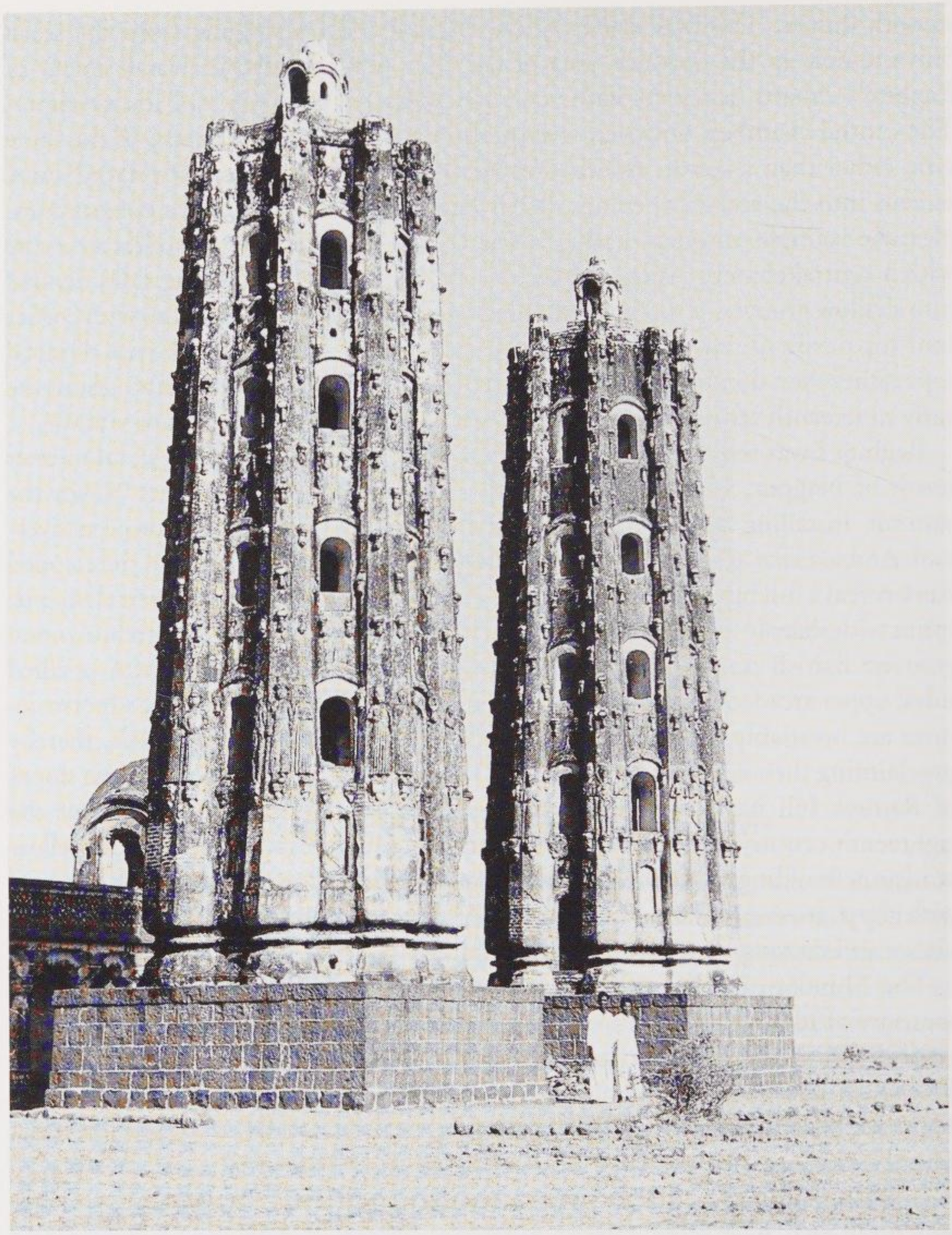
Of equal architectural interest are the Bhonsale chhatris in the Navi Shukrawari enclave near the Nag river, south-east of Nagpur's centre. The memorial of Raghuji I, the most elaborate of the group, has a central square chamber with axial doorways roofed by a conical tower with shallow faceted sides and pot finials. A verandah with angled arched openings proceeds around the chamber. Corner bays and those projecting outwards in the middle of each side are topped with Mughal-style pavilions, complete with fluted columns, lobed arches, curving bangla cornices and

smooth domes. This was evidently no aberrant scheme judging from the small Shiva temple in the northern part of the city. This repeats the overall layout of Raghuji's chhatri, complete with verandah and accompanying roof-top pavilions. The central chamber, however, is surmounted with a raised pavilion of the same type rather than a tower. Another variation is the introduction of pierced stone screens into the arched openings of the verandah. Returning to the chhatri complex: the example commemorating Janoji, Raghuji's successor, is a modest structure with a central chamber surmounted by a square tower with curving sides divided into shallow grooves. It too is surrounded by a verandah of lobed arches with corner roof-top pavilions. However, these last features are topped with finials with domical tops rather than domes. Temple construction continued at Nagpur throughout the early nineteenth century, but these projects lie outside the scope of this volume.

Raghuji I was responsible for fortifying the sacred hill at Ramtek, 48 kilometres north of Nagpur, where he repaired the Yadava-period shrines that crown the summit, installing new images of Rama and Lakshmana. Bhonsale projects overlook Ambala lake at the foot of Ramtek hill. Small shrines clustered on the stepped bank reveal a full range of typologies: towers with superimposed clustered elements; spires with sharply angled profiles; towers with curving faces divided into horizontal grooves; flattish domes rising on petalled bases; pyramidal domes with petalled sides; upper arcaded storeys with domes or curving vaults. These diverse superstructures are invariably topped with circular ribbed elements and pot finials, thereby proclaiming their religious purpose. The Jain complex beneath the northern slopes of Ramtek hill has several finely finished temples dating from the end of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century. These yellow sandstone buildings have their sanctuary walls and curving towers entirely covered with deep grooves. These richly textured surfaces are interrupted by lobed wall niches and curving bands with petalled motifs.

The Shindes, another prominent Maratha military family, were also active sponsors of temple architecture. Most of their constructional activities were concentrated at sites in the heartland of Central India. An exception, however, is the Khandoba temple at Bid, some 100 kilometres east of Ahmadnagar, erected by Mahadaji Shinde before his death in 1794 (Fig. 197). The entrance to the Bid shrine, which is dedicated to the same deity as at Jejuri, is flanked by a pair of unusual dipamalas conceived as towers rising more than 20 metres. These hollow tapering structures each have eight faceted buttresses decorated with plaster figures and animals in flat relief; stone brackets are for lamps. Tiers of windows in the recesses between the buttresses light internal staircases. The temple itself is surrounded by a colonnade and roofed with small pavilions displaying bangla cornices.

Religious architecture in the south-western corner of the Maratha territories was mainly undertaken by the Chhatrapatis of Kolhapur. The Mahalakshmi temple erected by the Shilharas in the twelfth century was substantially repaired and expanded by Sambhaji, who had the image of the goddess consecrated in 1715. The



197 Entrance towers of Khandoba temple, Bid, late eighteenth century

surrounding enclosure with its quartet of arched portals and the dipamalas inside the compound are eighteenth-century additions. Further testimony to the building activities of the Kolhapur rulers is seen in the funerary complex beside the Panchaganga river just outside the city. Royal chhatris here overlook the water or stand within a walled enclave entered through an arched gate on the east. Octagonal

tapering dipamalas line the path leading to the chhatri of Krishna II, finished in about 1815, the most elaborate of the group (Fig. 198). This consists of a small shrine fronted by a yellow sandstone portico with finely fashioned lobed arches. The faceted walls have precisely cut basement and wall mouldings relieved by shallow lotus flowers. The plaster-covered brick superstructure is of the clustered type with model elements arranged in diminishing layers flanking central tapering bands. The interior doorway to the linga sanctuary is framed by temple-like pilasters surmounted by relief towers.

SCULPTURE

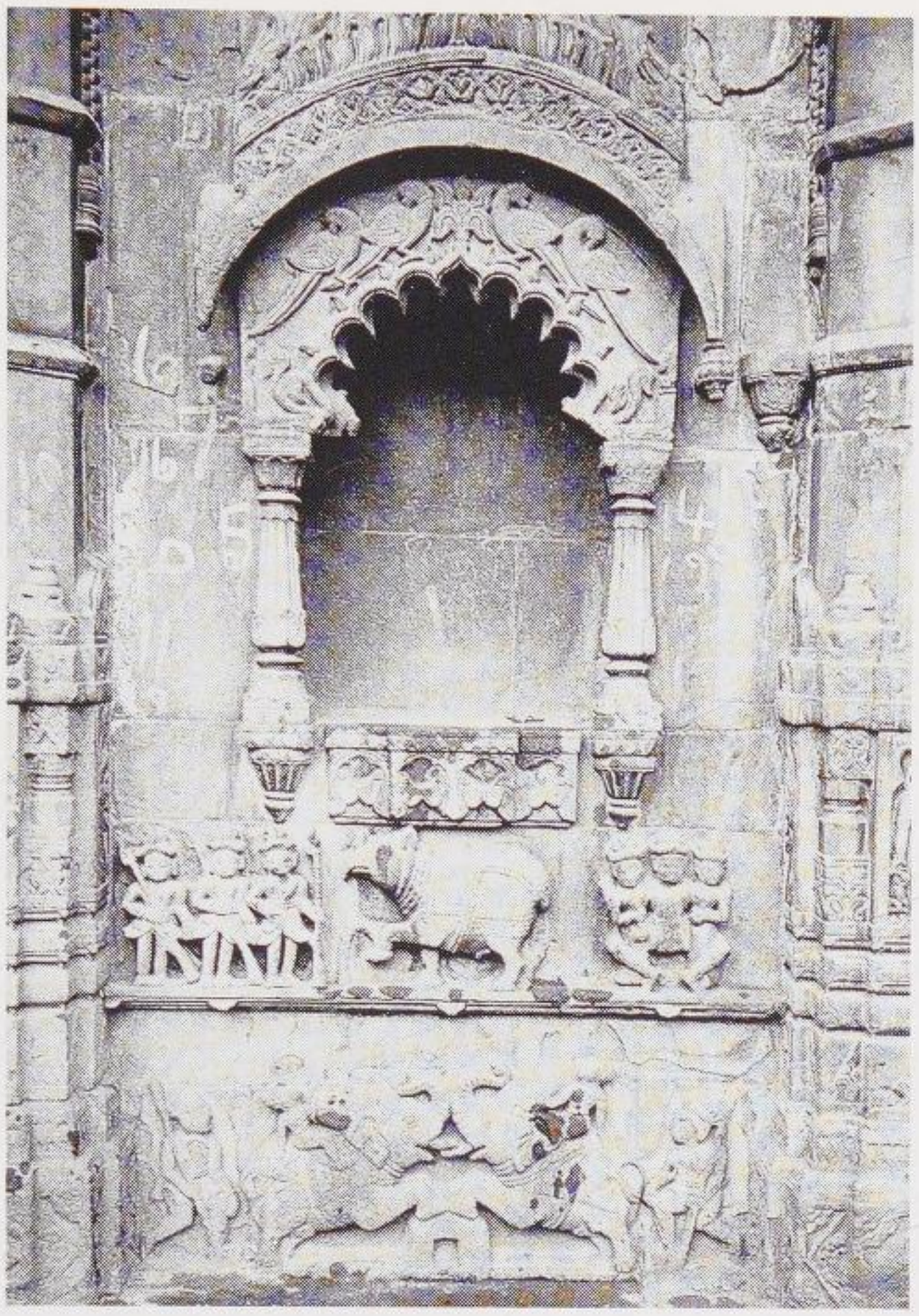
The revival of figural sculpture must rank as one of the outstanding artistic contributions of the Maratha era. In general, the sculptures are generally Western Indian in style, as is obvious from the smoothly rounded contours of the bodies and the sharply delineated facial features. Such foreign influence is explained by newly forged links between the Marathas and Gujarat and Rajasthan, regions which had enjoyed a relatively uninterrupted tradition of Hindu and Jain religious art during the Sultanate and Mughal periods.

Stone is the preferred medium for major votive icons in Maratha temples. These vary from popular and much repeated Nandi and Ganesha images, some of ample dimensions, incorporated into almost all Shiva sanctuaries, to images associated with particular holy sites. Vithoba at Pandharpur, for instance, is fashioned in black basalt in accordance with long-established iconographic prescriptions. The standing two-armed figure of the god is squat and somewhat crudely carved, but is nonetheless an object of great sanctity. Portraits of historical figures intended for devotion represent an innovative aspect of the sculptural art of the period. The black stone image of Shivaji worshipped at Sindhudurg shows the seated chhatrapati, with sun and moon emblems behind. A later version of this same formula is seen at Maheshwar where there is a seated image of Ahilyabai currently under veneration.

Figural art in revivalist sanctuaries is mostly confined to diminutive wall niches flanked by small pilasters and headed with angled eaves. Icons on the shrine of the Sundarnarayana temple at Nasik, for example, show Hanuman on the south, Narayana on the west and Indra on the north. Similarly accommodated deities appear on the walls of the principal sanctuary in the Vithoba complex: Anantashayana on the south, Krishna on Kaliya on the west, Venugopala on the north. More unusual are the panels with courtly and mythological scenes on the Siddheshvara temple at Toke. The panel on the north wall of the antechamber depicts an enthroned ruler in the company of a kneeling man; to the left is an elephant with courtly personages in front of a shrine. The corresponding panel on the south illustrates the archery contest from the Mahabharata epic where the hero Arjuna shoots an arrow to win Draupadi.

198 Chhatri of Krishna II, Kolhapur, *c.* 1815

A uniquely rich sculptural programme adorns the façade of the Trishunda Ganapati temple at Pune (Fig. 199). The outer doorway is flanked by fully carved guardians leaning on clubs; the sinuous profile of the pediment above incorporates miniature aquatic monsters and human figures. Panels beneath empty lobed niches

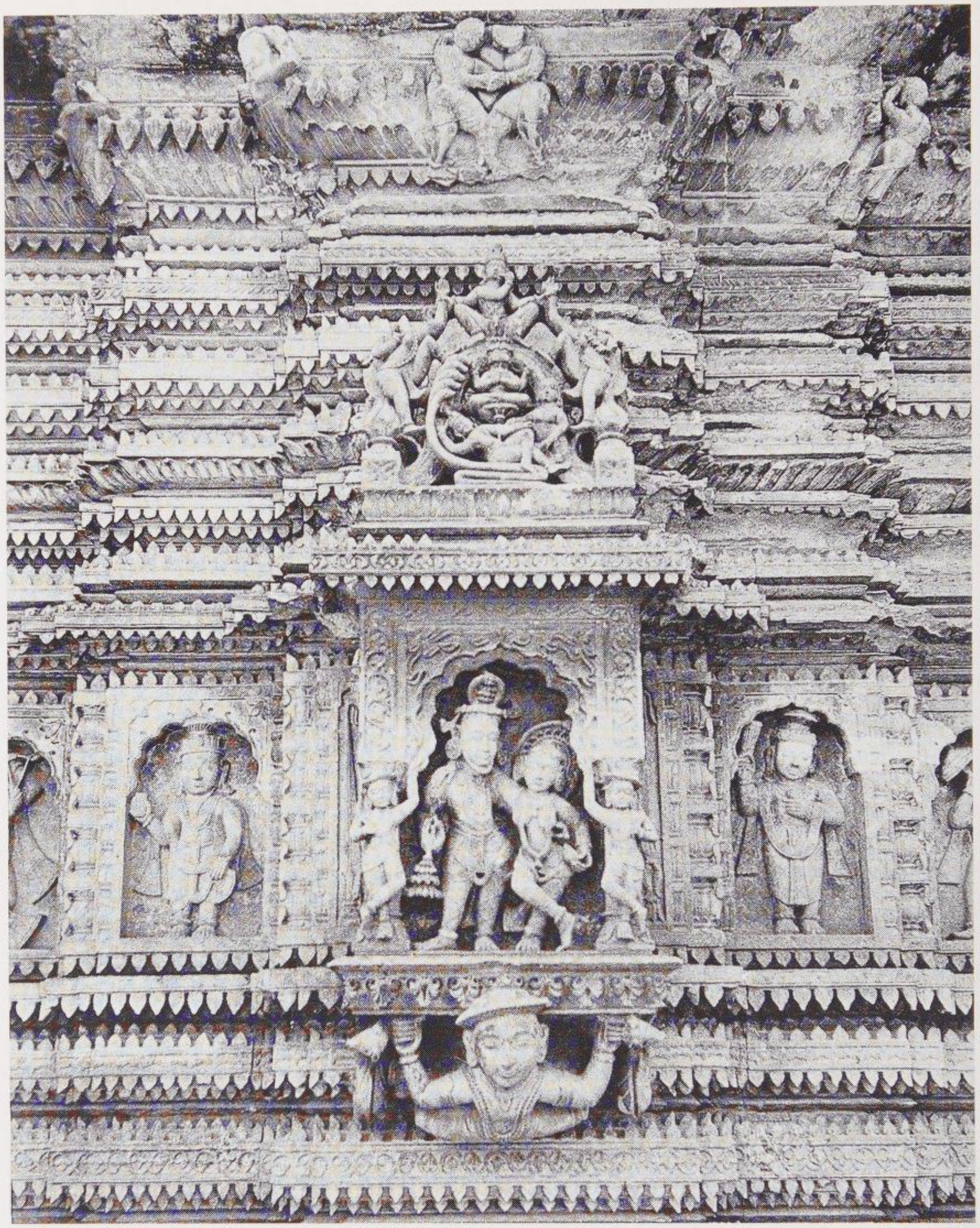


199 Wall niche, Trishunda Ganapati temple, Pune, 1770

at either side show warriors, pairs of fighting elephants with armed attendants and even a chained rhinoceros in the company of British soliders. The upper parts of the walls are lined with crouching dwarfs and monkeys.

Exactly the same crouching figures are carved on column brackets in many temples; additional themes adorn the blocks on column shafts. Columns in the Vateshvara temple outside Sasvad, for instance, have blocks carved with warriors, wrestlers, elephants, lions, horses and stylised lotuses. A large variety of divinities and legendary episodes appears on the columns of the Ghrishneshvara temple at Ellora. The repertory here includes scenes of hunting, with horses and men sporting guns. A selection of Vishnu's incarnations and the principal episodes of the Krishna story occur at Toke. A comparable range of topics is found in the halls of the Pandharpur complex. Courtly figures and amorous couples are combined with icons of deities on the Nagpur temples, as in the small Vitthala shrine consecrated to Krishna.

Sculptures on royal memorials demonstrates that figural art was well established at the end of the eighteenth century. Vitthalrao's chhatri at Maheshwar has shallow friezes of animated elephants on the basement and fully sculpted maidens and couples on the walls. Courtiers wear tilted circular hats, or pagadis, typical of



200 Wall sculpture, Vitthala shrine within Jagateshvara temple, Nagpur, second half of eighteenth century

peshwa dress; soldier are clad in British or French uniform. Figures on the temples and chhatris associated with the Bhonsales at Nagpur show amorous scenes of Krishna with Radhika (Fig. 200).

Plaster sculptures in the lobed recesses of polgyonal brick spires have already been noted. These figures were originally brightly painted and arranged according

to an overall programme. The Kashivishveshvara at Wai, for instance, has seated human devotees on the lower two stages of niches, with deities confined to the upper third stage. Though the temple is dedicated to Shiva, it includes an image of Narasimha, an incarnation of Vishnu. Pavilions rising over the east doorway to the mandapa contain icons of Durga and Sarasvati with Ganesha in the middle.

This mix of human and divine personalities is maintained on the spire of the Rama shrine in Tulsi Bagh at Pune. Figures in the lowest tier wear pagadis, suggesting that they represent peshwa nobles or officers. Celestial musicians occupy the upper tiers, with deities on top. Similarly attired figures are seen on the tower of the Vateshvara temple outside Sasvad. Standing guardians flank the axial niches, while half-elephants grace the corners of the projections beneath. Patrons make an occasional appearance. The frontal niche over the Nandi pavilion of the Vishveshvara temple at Mahuli, for instance, contains two figures, possibly the donor of the monument and his wife, worshipping a linga.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

Having separately considered the most significant examples of Deccani courtly and religious architecture, miniature paintings, textiles and metal objects, it is now necessary to evaluate the overall character of these buildings and works of art. The discussions in the preceding chapters have defined a profusion of distinctive artistic modes that emerged between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. This stylistic multiplicity may be singled out as an overriding characteristic of Deccani art. That these divergent but concurrent idioms should coincide with the sponsorship of different lines of rulers is hardly surprising, considering the dominant role of sultans and their nobles, commanders and governors in the political and cultural life of the region. Architectural and pictorial styles follow dynastic careers, underscoring the interdependency of art and patronage in this era.

Another, no less representative trait that runs through the descriptions of Deccani architecture and painting is the constant relationship to North Indian and Middle Eastern traditions. In the course of these stylistic borrowings, foreign modes were transformed in order to create new and intrinsically Deccani idioms. This stylistic metamorphosis seems not to have been restricted to a single moment in Deccani history; to the contrary, it was an on-going process that responded creatively to both invasion and influence from outside the region.

STYLISTIC MULTIPLICITY

The dominant role of the Sultanate, Mughal and Maratha courts in the sponsorship of architecture and the arts gives credence to a view that the visual arts played a central role in giving visual expression to the personal ambitions of powerful figures. Each dynasty of Deccani kings, from the Bahmanis to the Asaf Jahis and Marathas, promoted a highly individualistic idiom which they employed for their courtly and religious buildings and, in later times, for paintings, metalwork and textiles. This lack of stylistic unity is hardly surprising considering that the Deccan experienced extreme political instability for most of the period under examination. Only under the Bahmanis did the region enjoy some measure of unity, but then there was the constant threat from Vijayanagara. As the major representatives of Muslim culture in peninsular India in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Bahmani sultans developed a distinctive architecture for their military, palatial and religious projects which affirmed cultural and religious ties with the Middle East, while at the same time embodying local ambition. Within the context of peninsular India, Bahmani architecture confronted Vijayanagara with a totally alien aesthetic.

(It is worth recalling that Vijayanagara courtly structures adopted many Bahmani features, thereby indicating a significant interchange between these opposing cultures.)

The relationship between style and dynasty must have been firmly anchored in Deccan culture because each of the five successor states that emerged after the collapse of the Bahmani kingdom developed its own artistic personality. The striking multiplicity of idioms that characterises building activities in these first decades of independence of these states is obvious in the mosques and tombs erected in Ahmadnagar, Bidar, Bijapur and Golconda. Drawing on well-established Bahmani traditions, religious architecture in the first half of the sixteenth century at these new capitals evolved distinctive typologies, elevational treatments and decorative programmes. The tendency towards dynastic limitations of style is less well articulated when it comes to military architecture, probably because of the universal demands of war and its practice. Earlier links with the Middle East varied in intensity, with the Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi styles affirming a Deccani identity with greatest force, as is abundantly clear from the different emphasis that both styles placed on architectural decoration.

The first appearance of Deccani fine arts in the course of the sixteenth century demonstrates a similar alliance of dynasty and style. Paintings commissioned by the Nizam Shahis, Adil Shahis and Qutb Shahis are executed in easily distinguishable modes, thereby justifying the classification of miniatures into dynastic schools, as has been followed here. As in architecture, the distribution of such schools accords well with political boundaries. This concurrence of dynasty and artistic idiom was sustained in the first half of the seventeenth century, especially at Bijapur and Golconda-Hyderabad, capitals of the two most influential and long-lived sultanates. Independent architectural modes characterise courtly and religious buildings at these centres. Paintings, metal objects and textiles commissioned by the Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi sultans may be similarly distinguished in terms of style.

A quite different situation developed under the Mughals. The preference of Aurangzeb and his nobles for North Indian modes inevitably undermined the aesthetic independence of Deccani arts. Even so, high-quality works continued to be produced at local workshops, even if these were mostly executed in a provincial Mughal style. Deccani miniature paintings, inlaid bidri metalwork, jewelled weapons and sumptuously coloured textiles dating from the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century rival those produced at the same time in Delhi or Lahore.

Meanwhile, the rise of the Marathas discovered new potentialities for provincial Mughal art by inventing an entirely novel architectural idiom that mingled North Indian attributes with Hindu revivalist features. Temples erected by the chhatrapatis, the peshwas and their subordinates throughout the course of the eighteenth century came to signify the aspirations of a rapidly expanding martial kingdom, while at the same time affirming an essentially Deccani identity. That architectural

elements from Gujarat and Rajasthan were in time also incorporated into this synthetic idiom can be seen as an aesthetic response to the conquests of western Indian by Deccani forces.

The ascendancy of the Marathas, however, did not signal the demise of artistic patronage at the Deccani Muslim courts. Mughal-style art, which had come to a virtual standstill at Delhi and Lahore by about the middle of the eighteenth century, enjoyed a new lease of life under the Asaf Jahis, successors to the Golconda-Hyderabad state. In this last phase of Deccani art (surviving up until the middle of the nineteenth century), architecture and the fine arts followed radically different paths. Religious buildings and palatial complexes revived earlier schemes in Golconda and Hyderabad, thereby visually relating the Asaf Jahis to the past achievements of the Qutb Shahis. In contrast, Hyderabadi painting, metalwork and textiles executed in a provincial manner were more concerned to maintain links with the vanished glories of North India.

STYLISTIC TRANSFORMATION

Any understanding of the relationship of dynasty and style in the arts of the Deccan also depends on unravelling the mechanisms by which external influences were transformed into native styles. This affirmation of indigenous traditions did not take place at any single point in the five centuries or so of Deccani history covered here; rather, it responded to successive waves of foreign influence. The first phase to be discerned coincides with the Bahmani period. North Indian modes of military, palace and religious architecture introduced into the peninsula by the Tughluqs were wholeheartedly adopted by the Bahmanis. As a result, the earliest Deccani mosques and tombs display North Indian attributes such as sloping walls, prominent battlements, flattish domes and arches with angled profiles. The same features are also seen in the ramparts at Daulatabad and Parenda, the ruined audience hall standing in the middle of Firuzabad, the mosque in the royal enclave at Bidar and the tombs at Holkonda.

The process of transformation by which the first genuinely Deccani style was created was completed towards the end of the fourteenth century, by which time innovative tendencies were already apparent in religious architecture. The Jami mosque in the fort at Gulbarga dispenses with the usual courtyard to create an interior roofed entirely with domes and pyramidal vaults, a scheme rarely used in India. The nearby mausoleum of Tajuddin Firuz duplicates the cubic chamber to create a double-domed structure, another example of a one-off layout. The unconventional use of Tughluq-type niches in multiple planes to enliven façades became a distinctive hallmark of the mature Bahmani style. The emancipation of Deccani practice from Tughluq prototypes occurred in about the middle of the fifteenth century, by which time Bahmani culture had come under the sway of Middle Eastern traditions.

As has already been shown, Deccani architecture from this time onwards is only comprehensible in terms of the contacts forged between peninsular India and the Turco-Iranian heartland. Middle Eastern influence in the Deccan is already noticeable in the courtly and religious monuments of the later Bahmanis and their successors, the Baridis. The links between the fifteenth-century palace complex in Bidar and contemporary building traditions in Iran and Central Asia have been pointed out, especially with reference to the alignments of courtyards and ceremonial gates. Lofty portals with pointed arched openings are outlined in stone bands in the typical Timurid manner. Timurid practice also dominates the painted plasterwork, coloured mosaic tiles and carved calligraphic panels, all of superlative quality, that adorn the tombs at nearby Ashtur. The apogee of this imported idiom is the madrasa of Mahmud Gawan in Bidar, an architectural transplant that faithfully reproduces the plan and elevational treatment of Persian models. Its coloured mosaic tiles match and even surpass the most refined Middle Eastern designs of the period.

An equal fascination with Turco-Iranian styles has been observed at Ahmadnagar in the second half of the sixteenth century. The Farah Bagh, the grandest surviving residence of the Nizam Shahis, accords with well-established Safavid typology in its adherence to a strictly symmetrical, irregular-octagonal plan. Imposing portals in the middle of four sides give access to a central domed chamber of immense proportions. The delicate treatment of the plaster vaulting within the side niches accords with contemporary Iranian practice. Vaulting systems of Middle Eastern origin have also been noticed in Adil Shahi architecture. They include intersecting arches on rotated squares supporting domes in the Jami mosque and Gol Gumbad at Bijapur, without doubt the greatest constructional triumphs of the era.

The appeal of Middle Eastern models for Deccani arts is particularly noticeable in the late sixteenth century. Among the paintings produced at the Ahmadnagar court are two compositions portraying Sultan Murtaza Nizam Shah. As has already been observed, the miniatures exhibit the facial types, costumes and calligrahic line typical of Turco-Iranian paintings. The presence of similar Middle Eastern elements has also been recognised in paintings produced at Bijapur under Ibrahim II, Muhammad and Ali II, considered here to represent the high watermark of Deccani pictorial art. The figures of courtiers, princes and holy men, all in paradise-like garden settings, show definite Persian elements. Turco-Iranian traits are even stronger in contemporary Golconda paintings, especially in miniatures commissioned by Muhammad Quli and Muhammad Qutb Shah. Pictorial compositions focus on royal court scenes and pastimes characterised by dense pulsating compositions, bright colours and stylised arabesque, all hallmarks of Timurid-Safavid painting.

A synthesis of Persian Safavid models with indigenous taste is apparent in the finest early seventeenth-century Deccani paintings. Works by the so-called St Petersburg painter include seated and equestrian portraits which reconcile Middle Eastern pictorial conventions with a preference for brilliantly coloured and exuberant compositions, typically Deccani in spirit. Paintings by the so-called Dublin

painter blend the huge flowers and trees of the Deccan style with the formal portraiture of the Middle East. One of the most extraordinary transmutations of Safavid motifs is seen in the tile mosaics of the Badshahi Ashurkhana in Hyderabad. Conventional Persian designs of overflowing vases, flowering trees and calligraphic standards are here revitalised in local yellows, blues and turquoises of startling brilliance and subtlety.

As has already been mentioned, the Turco-Iranian pictorial idiom at Bijapur and Golconda-Hyderabad did not survive beyond the end of the seventeenth century, owing to the pervasive influence of Mughal art. The Deccan experienced a second wave of artistic influence from North India under the Mughals, who introduced into the region a fully evolved but foreign tradition. Mosques and tombs erected by Aurangzeb and his nobles towards the end of the seventeenth century and in the first decades of the eighteenth century conform to conventional Mughal types and decorative motifs. But such transplants were not always devoid of innovative tendencies. The Bibi-ka Maqbara near Aurangabad has been appreciated here for its novel traits, including the singular device of an octagonal gallery overlooking the tomb beneath. Other smaller Mughal projects in Aurangabad, such as the tomb of Qada Auliya, present unconventional groupings of more familiar Mughal elements, such as bangla vaults and domes.

Portraits produced for the Mughal nobles and their successors in Aurangabad and Hyderabad, and even at lesser centres like Kurnool and Cuddapah, still exhibit strong local traits, though executed in a typically late Mughal manner. The hardening of line and simplification of tone noted in eighteenth-century paintings at the Mughal courts have also been detected in Deccani art. This same manner extended even to Maratha painting, as can be seen in the luscious floral borders of wall paintings and manuscript pages. Yet late painting did on occasions achieve a certain aesthetic independence, as has been noted in the vivid palette used by Deccani painters of the period, even when working within accepted pictorial conventions. Inlaid metal objects are also related to contemporary Mughal art, but the fully formed flowers that adorn ewers and trays have more the intense energy of the Deccani tradition than the languid grace of the North Indian style.

As has been pointed out, Mughal architecture in the Deccan had a greater impact on temples than on mosques and tombs. The fulfilment of Hindu ritual requirements seems not to have prevented Maratha architects from freely borrowing Mughal-style cusped arches which find startlingly novel applications in wall niches and spires. This quest for new forms is perhaps nowhere better seen than in the magnificent Hindu monument erected by the queen Ahilyabai at the ancient site of Ellora. While harking back to the grandiose projects of the pre-Islamic era, this temple presents an inventive synthesis of disparate architectural elements that perfectly matches the scope of Maratha culture at the time of its greatest political and military extent.

APPENDIX: DYNASTIC LISTS OF DECCAN RULERS

Khaljis of Delhi

Jalaluddin Firuz Shah, 1290–6
Alauddin Muhammad Shah, 1296–1316
Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah, 1316–21

Tughluqs of Delhi and Daulatabad

Ghiyathuddin Shah, 1321–5
Muhammad Shah, 1325–51

Bahmanis of Gulbarga and Bidar

Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah, 1347–58
Muhammad I, 1358–75
Mujahid, 1375–8
Dawud I, 1378
Muhammad II, 1378–97
Dawad II, 1397
Tajuddin Firuz, 1397–1422
Ahmad I, 1422–36
Alauddin Ahmad II, 1436–58
Humayun, 1458–61
Ahmad III, 1461–3
Muhammad III, 1463–82
Mahmud, 1482–1518
Ahmad IV, 1518–20
Wallyullah, 1520–6
Kalamullah, 1526–38

Faruqis of Thalner and Burhanpur

Malik Raja, 1382–99
Nasir Khan, 1399–1437
Miran Adil Khan I, 1437–41
Miran Mubarak Shah I, 1441–57
Adil Khan II, 1457–1501

Dawud Khan, 1501–8
Adil Khan III, 1508–20
Miran Muhammad Shah I, 1520–37
Miran Mubarak Shah II, 1537–66
Miran Muhammad Shah II, 1566–76
Adil Khan IV, 1576–97
Bahadur Shah, 1597–1601

Adil Shahis of Bijapur

Yusuf Adil Khan, 1490–1510
Ismail Adil Khan, 1510–34
Mallu Adil Khan, 1534–5
Ibrahim I, 1535–58
Ali I, 1558–80
Ibrahim II, 1580–1627
Muhammad, 1627–56
Ali II, 1656–72
Sikander, 1672–86

Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar

Ahmad Bahri, 1496–1510
Burhan I, 1510–53
Husain I, 1553–65
Murtaza I, 1565–88
Husain II, 1588–9
Ismail, 1589–91
Burhan II, 1591–5
Bahadur, 1595–1600
Murtaza II, 1600–10
Burhan III, 1610–31
Husain III, 1631–3
Murtaza III, 1633–6

Baridis of Bidar

Qasim I, –1504
Amir I, 1504–43
Ali Shah, 1543–80
Ibrahim, 1580–7
Qasim II, 1587–91
Amir II, 1591–1600
Mirza, 1600–9
Amir III, 1609–19

Imad Shahis of Achalpur

Fathullah, –1510
Alauddin, 1510–30
Darya, 1530–61
Burhan, 1562–74

Qutb Shahis of Golconda and Hyderabad

Sultan Quli Qutb al-Mulk, 1512–43
Jamshid, 1543–50
Ibrahim, 1550–80
Muhammad Quli, 1580–1611
Muhammad, 1611–26
Abdullah, 1626–72
Abul Hasan, 1672–87

Mughals of Delhi and Aurangabad

Akbar, 1556–1605
Jahangir, 1605–27
Shah Jahan, 1628–58
Aurangzeb, 1658–1707
Shah Alam Bahadur Shah, 1707–13
Farrukh Siyar, 1713–19
Muhammad Shah, 1719–48

Pathan Nawabs of Kurnool

Khizr Khan, –1674
Dawud Khan, 1674–1712
Ali Khan, 1712–18
Ibrahim Khan, 1718–31
Alif Khan I, 1731–44
Himayat Khan, 1744–51
Munawwar Khan I, 1751–92
Alif Khan II, 1792–1815
Munawwar Khan II, 1815–23
Ghulam Rasul Khan, 1823–39

Chhatrapatis of Raigad and Satara

Shivaji, 1674–80
Sambhaji, 1680–9
Rajaram, 1689–1700
Tarabai, 1700–8
Shahu, 1708–49

Ram Raja, 1749–77
Shahu II, 1777–

Bhonsales of Nagpur
Parasoji, –1709
Kanhoji, 1709–30
Raghuji I, 1730–55
Janoji, 1755–72
Madhoji, 1772–5
Raghuji II, 1775–1816

Chhatrapatis of Kolhapur
Sambhaji, 1714–60
Shivaji II, 1762–1812

Peshwas of Satara and Pune
Balaji Vishvanath, 1714–20
Bajirao I, 1720–40
Balaji Bajirao, 1740–61
Madhavrao I, 1761–72
Narayanrao, 1772–4
Madhavrao II, 1774–96
Bajirao II, 1796–1818

Asaf Jahis of Aurangabad and Hyderabad
Nawab Mir Qamar uddin, Nizam al-Mulk, Asaf Jah I, 1724–48
Nawab Mir Ahmad Khan, Nasir Jang, 1748–50
Nawab Muzaffar Jang, 1750–1
Nawab Salabat Jang, 1751–62
Nawab Mir Nizam Ali Khan, Asaf Jah II, 1762–1803
Nawab Sikandar Jah, Asaf Jah III, 1803–29
Nawab Ali Khan, Nasir ud daula, Asaf Jah IV, 1829–57
Nawab Ali Khan, Afzal ud daula, Asaf Jah V, 1857–69
Nawab Mir Mahbub Ali Khan, Asaf Jah VI, 1869–1911
Nawab Mir Osman Ali Khan, Asaf Jah VII, 1911–50

Holkars of Indore and Maheshwar
Malharao, 1725–66
Ahilyabai, 1766–95
Tukoji, 1766–97
Yeshwantrao, 1797–1811

Angres of Kolaba

Kanhoji, –1729
Sekhoji, 1729–33
Sambhaji, 1733–42

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HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

The history of the Deccan in the centuries covered in this volume is well served by a number of comprehensive studies, but many dealing with political and military history are now of some age. Essential bibliographies are provided by Khalili (1985, 1987). Persian and Arabic epigraphic sources are summarised in Desai (1989, n.d.) and various volumes of *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* and *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.*

The Sultanate period is surveyed by Haig (1907, 1928), Briggs (1909–10), Venkataramana (1942) and Sherwani and Joshi (1973), the last with excellent historical chapters by various authors concentrating on the different Sultanate kingdoms. Social, religious and cultural aspects of the Sultanate courts are considered by Ahmad (1953), Nizami (1974), Alavi (1977), Eaton (1978, 1998), Ernst (1992, 1993), Bredi (1993), Naqvi (1993) and Wink (1993).

Several specialised studies focus on individual Sultanates. For the Bahmanis see King (1900), Sherwani (1953), Sinha (1964), Husaini (1966) and Siddiqi (1989). Biographies of influential Bahmani figures such as Tajuddin Firuz and Mahmud Gawan are given in Sherwani (1942, 1943–4). An account of the Nizam Shahis is provided by Haig (1920–3) and Shyam (1966). Malik Ambar, effective ruler of Ahmadnagar at the turn of the seventeenth century, is the subject of Seth (1957), Shyam (1968) and Tamaskar (1978). For the Adil Shahis see Nayeem (1974) and Verma (1974, 1990). Ibrahim Adil Shah's career is outlined by Joshi (1948), but see Ghani (1930) and Ahmad (1956) for additional sources. Rocco (1920), Minorsky (1955), Siddiqi (1956) and Sherwani (1974) offer historical materials relevant to the Qutb Shahis, while Sherwani (1957, 1967) takes a detailed look at the career of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, founder of the dynasty. The Faruqis of Khandesh, on the northern fringe of the region, are surveyed by Haig (1918) and Shyam (1981).

There is a relatively large literature on the Mughal period, but only a few studies focus on the Deccan. See Bilgrami and Willmott (1884), Haig (1937), Sarkar (1963), Richards (1975, 1995, chs. 10–11) and Nayeem (1985, 1987) for detailed works on the Mughals in the Deccan and the rise of the Asaf Jahis.

The Marathas form the topic of numerous enquiries, the most comprehensive being Duff (1912), Sen (1928), Kincaird and Parasnes (1931), Sardesai (1946–9), Rawlinson (1963), Gokhale (1988) and Gordon (1993, 1994). Maheshvari and Higgins (1989) offer useful historical summaries of all the important Maratha centres. For the background of the Sidis, Abyssinian admirals of the Marathas, see Banaji (1932).

ARCHITECTURE

No comprehensive study of Deccani architecture exists for the centuries examined here. The Sultanate period, for instance, is generally condensed into chapters of larger works, as in Brown (1942, chs. XIII and XIV), Sherwani and Joshi (1974, ch. 4), Soundara Rajan (1983, ch. 6) and Harle (1986, ch. 32). Mate (1961–2) attempts an overview of Sultanate buildings, but is mainly concerned with the development of particular architectural features. Merklinger (1981) deals only with monuments in Karnataka, though her treatment of this region is the most extensive yet

published. Michell (1996) provides an illustrated overview. Chapters by Desai (1974a, 1974b) give a more satisfactory overview of Sultanate architecture. Technical and structural aspects are reviewed by Fischer (1974).

Various Sultanate fortresses are covered in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions* (Hyderabad), as well as in Goetz (1949) and chapters of Toy (1957, 1965), Joshi (1985), Fass (1986) and Ramachandra Murthy (1996). Few of these studies are accompanied by reliable site plans. Deccani palaces are described in Reuther (1925), still impressive for its clear photographs and accurate drawings. A few of these monuments are covered in Michell (1994). For the Tughluq origins of the Deccan style see Welch and Crane (1983), also Rani (1991) and Shokoohy and Shokoohy (1994).

Monographic volumes and specialised articles cover the major Sultanate cities. Burton-Page (1986), Mate (1989) and Mate and Pathy (1992) deal with Daulatabad, but a reliable site map and descriptions of individual monuments are still lacking. The situation is little better for Gulbarga, in spite of articles by Yazdani (1928) and Merklinger (1975, 1986). The lesser known palace city of Firuzabad is the subject of an article by Fischer (1955) and a volume with plans by Michell and Eaton (1992). The architecture of Bidar benefits from a magnificently illustrated monograph by Yazdani (1947), the finest for any Deccani site. There is also an article by Merklinger (1976) and a chapter by Michell in his edited volume (1986). For Ahmadnagar, see Reuther (1925) and Gadre (1986), the latter with unique but poorly executed maps. The remote site of Sagar has recently been surveyed by Aruni (1996–7).

Bijapur is probably the best-studied Sultanate city, judging from monographs and articles by Meadows Taylor and Fergusson (1866), Reuther (1925), Merklinger (1978) and Burton-Page (1986). A complete account of Bijapur's monuments, accompanied by handsome drawings and photographs, is provided by Cousens (1916, reprinted 1976). The water structures of Bijapur are documented by Rötzer (1984). Religious and courtly monuments of the twin cities of Golconda and Hyderabad have often been described: Bilgrami (1927), Reuther (1925), Sherwani (1958, 1976), Krishna Sastry (1983, 1983–4), Pieper (1984), Michell in his edited volume (1986), Naqvi (1987), Petruccioli (1991), Safrani (1992) and Shorey (1993). Hussain (1996) has covered the royal gardens at Golconda, but the palace complex at this site remains largely undocumented and unmapped. Notices of monuments at lesser known sites, such as Raichur and Burhanpur, are found in Merklinger (1977) and Koch (1991b). The mosque at Ponda in Goa is reported by Hutt (1981) and Shokoohy (1997).

Architectural decoration in Sultanate buildings is touched on in many of the above works, but there is no specialised study. Tilework is particularly neglected, probably because the record is so fragmentary. Examples on Bahmani and Baridi monuments in Bidar are partially reproduced in Yazdani (1947). Further discussion is found in Crowe (1986a, 1986b), Curatola (1991) and Hasan (1995). Mosaic tilework on the interior of the Badshahi Ashurkhana in Hyderabad, probably the finest in India, is reported in Bilgrami (1927) and Crowe (1986a), but is extensively reproduced here in colour for the first time. This tilework remains virtually unknown to historians of Indian and Islamic art. Bijapur tiles are discussed by Porter (1995), who provides a valuable technical discussion. Related tiles from Goa are shown in Via Orientalis (1991).

Even fewer data are available for the carved stone decoration of Sultanate buildings. Goetz (1963) provides a useful though brief survey of sculpted decoration, mostly on fort walls and gates. Begley (1985) concentrates on monumental stone calligraphy, with many significant Deccani examples. See Bilgrami (1927) for illustrations and translations of the inscriptions in the Hyderabad area. The only article on plaster decoration, Shokoohy (1994), is restricted to the Bahmani monuments.

Mughal architecture in the Deccan awaits a specialised enquiry. Recent histories of Mughal architecture by Koch (1991a) and Asher (1992), otherwise commendable, treat Deccani monu-

ments only in passing. Desai's chapter (1974c) is the only attempt to provide an overview of the Mughal contribution to Deccani architecture. This may be supplemented by Sreenivasachar (n.d.), who describes Mughal buildings in Aurangabad.

Maratha architecture is totally ignored in all general surveys, including those given above. Mate (1959) attempts a review of Maratha military and religious buildings, but his approach is hampered by a lack of reliable drawings. Maratha forts are covered in competent studies by Deshpande (1982) and Desai (1987), both with useful maps. Mate (1982) and Jamkhedkar (1982) examine Maratha temples in and around Pune and Nagpur, respectively. Kanhere (1989) and Sohoni (1998) present information on Maratha temples at other sites in Maharashtra, the latter with accurate plans and details. Religious constructions associated with Ahilyabai, the celebrated Holkar queen, are considered briefly in Burgess (1878) and Bhatt (1979). Kanhere (1982a, 1982b), Khare (1982) and Morwanchikar (1982) draw attention to domestic architecture of the Marathas. Murals are covered in Garg (1987) and Deshmukh (1992).

MINIATURE PAINTING AND THE FINE ARTS

Until the 1930s, the Deccani school of painting was hardly known, its great masterpieces usually described as Persian, Indo-Persian or Mughal. Mehta (1926) was the first scholar to attribute a major work, the magnificent study of a bull elephant, probably Atash Khan, to a Deccani artist.

Discoveries multiply during the next decades. Kramrisch (1937) traces the development of Deccani art forms from ancient times to the nineteenth century, publishing for the first time the *Tarif-i Husayn Shahi* from Ahmadnagar. Goetz (1935, 1936, 1944, 1950, 1952–3), Gray (1937, 1938), Chandra (1951), Khandalavala (1955–6) and Skelton (1957, 1958) present important new materials, thereby giving definition to what is a new subject. Barrett (1958), in a short but brilliant monograph, makes the interesting contrast between the worldly concerns of the Mughal empire and the dreamy escapist tenor of the Deccani courts, as reflected in the arts of these two great Indo-Islamic cultures. This is followed by two additional short studies (Barrett 1960, 1969). Contributions by various scholars to the 1963 issue of *Marg* magazine devoted to Deccani painting show the high quality and extraordinary diversity of the different schools. Additional discussions accompanied by illustrations of many newly attributed Deccani paintings are found in Ivanov, Grek and Akimushkin (1962), Barrett and Gray (1963, pp. 115–29), Mittal (1966, 1968, 1971), Skelton (1971), Binney (1973) and Zebrowski (1981a).

Zebrowski (1983), who provides the first comprehensive study on the subject, more than doubles the known corpus of Deccani paintings, bringing to light much new historical information as well. Seyller (1995) charts the career of the Mughal artist Farrukh Beg, who may be identical with the Bijapur artist Farrukh Husain mentioned by the Persian poet Zuhuri. Welch (1985, 1997) presents a fascinating personal account of a possible connection between the Golconda school and Rajput painting at Kotah.

Recent monographs, catalogues and articles containing additional materials useful for a study of Deccani painting include Zebrowski (1986a), Stronge (1990), Via Orientalis (1991), Safrani (1992), Leach (1995) and Losty (1995). For related examples of painted lacquerwork see Zebrowski (1982b).

The study of miniature painting under the Marathas is still in its infancy, but see Banerji (1956) and Doshi (1972). Select illustrated manuscripts are discussed in Ranade (1983).

Pioneer research on Deccani resist-dyed cottons is provided by Irwin (1959) and Irwin and Brett (1970). But it is Gittinger (1982) who provides the most complete compendium of materials to date, the source of much of the discussion offered here. Smart (1987) groups together an important number of such cottons which bear seventeenth-century dates and seals from the royal Amber Collection in Rajasthan. Crill (1988) deals with pieces in the Victoria and Albert

Museum, London. Cohen (1986) not only discusses resist-dyed cottons, but assigns a number of embroideries, pile carpets and flat-woven floor coverings to the Deccan.

Deccani bronze vessels decorated with Arabic script, among the greatest masterpieces of Islamic metalwork, have long been assigned to either Iran or North India (Melikian-Chirvani 1982). The most comprehensive survey of the subject, with fresh attributions, is now in Zebrowski (1997a). For bidriware, a type of inlaid metalwork unique to the Deccan, see Choudhury (1961), Stronge (1985, 1986) and Zebrowski (1981b, 1982a, 1986b, 1995, 1997a, 1997b). Excellent bronze, gilt copper and bidri vessels are illustrated in Welch (1985).

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Jacket illustration: Calligraphic medallion on chain, painted gesso on stone, mihrab, Jami mosque, Bijapur, 1636 (*Arnold Lassrich*).

Jacket design by Chris McLeod

PRINTED IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

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ISBN 0-521-56321-6
9 780521 563215